THE LIVING AGE

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for August, 1932

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THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May, 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: 'The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world: *so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries.*'

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THE GUIDE POST

HAS the Lausanne Conference checked the forces of disintegration or will the world depression culminate in war? More time must pass before the achievements at Lausanne can be correctly estimated, if only because the agreement arrived at there cannot take full effect until America has acted. The war danger, on the other hand, can be more clearly analyzed. The Far East is the obvious point of immediate friction, and we have presented two extremist views of that situation. George Bronson Rea, American editor of the *Far Eastern Review*, defends the Japanese position in an article originally published in his own magazine and later circulated by the Japanese Association in China. L. Magyar, writing in the *Anti-Imperialist Review*, an English-language bimonthly controlled by the Communist Party and published in Berlin, defends the Soviet thesis. Russia not only fears Japanese aggression in Manchuria, but also believes that, if war breaks out there, France will launch an attack from the West with the aid of Rumania and Poland and with the benevolent neutrality of Germany. The fact that an international conference of writers and intellectuals sponsored by Maxim Gorki, Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, Albert Einstein, Theodore Dreiser, Heinrich Mann, and Hugh Walpole is meeting at Geneva to oppose war just as this issue of the magazine appears gives timeliness to the emphasis we are laying on this subject.

RUSSIA'S professions of injured innocence should be taken with a grain of salt. We are printing two articles from Moscow, both of which indicate that the food situation is becoming dangerous. Nikolaus Basseches, who has spent the past dozen years in the Soviet Union as an engineer and correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, maintains that the Stalin régime has nearly reached the end of its rope. He quotes the Soviet crop estimates for the year and then proceeds to divide that figure by two. The London *Economist's* Moscow correspondent uses the same estimates but accepts them and therefore merely concludes that Stalin is making a minor compromise with the peasants in allowing them to sell a small proportion of their grain on the open market.

FRANCIS DELAISI is developing a steadily increasing reputation as the keenest and clearest of French economists. His 'History of the Franc' surveys the vicissitudes of his country's currency since the War. He first explains what made the franc sink in 1926 and then gives a detailed account of Poincaré's stabilization and the subsequent inundation of Paris with gold. But his conclusions are even more important than his description. He argues that the shortsighted selfishness of the Bank of France and the thoughtless liberality of the Ministry of Finance are going to make trouble in the long run. The British are now accumulating short-term balances in Paris and will presently be able to start a flow of gold away from the French capital. And the reactionary groups in the French Chamber of Deputies may soon be in a position to create a financial panic just like the one that occurred in 1926 and again drive Herriot from power.

THE younger generation in Germany and Austria is turning to reaction, not radicalism, and an Austrian professor describes first the state of mind of the German inhabitants of Central Europe and then the various parties through which they express their discontent. There is almost no doubt but that the

(*Continued on page 563*)

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THE LIVING AGE

Founded by E. Littell

In 1844

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The World Over

TWICE since the Armistice of 1918 France and Germany have been virtually at war. The first time France took the initiative and occupied the Ruhr. The second time Germany began hostilities by announcing a tariff union with Austria. The first struggle brought Germany close to collapse but the aid of other countries pulled her through. The second struggle occurred while the whole world was undergoing a crisis unique in history, and though the Lausanne Conference has accomplished the impossible and reconciled France and Germany, other forces that may imperil the good work have asserted themselves. As the London *Economist* wisely remarks, the time factor is everything:—

> We do not despair of the future, but there is one disquieting feature in the situation: the time factor is terribly against the world in the race between the realization of sound policies and disaster. In fact, the crux of the situation to-day is how long it will take before the pressure of the small section of informed and balanced opinion that exists in every country can make itself effectively felt. Never more than to-day has there been a vital need for such opinion to be made vocal and insistent.

Although Franco-German coöperation is the keystone of peace and prosperity in Europe, and although reparation payments are blocking European recovery, all nations are now undergoing what the *Week-end Review* calls a 'vast and brutal transition process' that is divided into three phases:—

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> In the first phase lack of confidence in the post-war structure causes a collapse of its financial superstructure and of the unstable prosperity based on it. In the second phase renewed and deepened lack of confidence makes the economic structure itself begin to disintegrate. In the third phase lack of confidence spreads to the political institutions and social balances with which this economic structure is linked. These phases, of course, overlap and fuse, but they come in logical sequence: first credit and currency, then trade and industry, then the very core of the state is attacked by the psychological corrosive.
>
> Politicians, concerned with surface indications, have shown themselves to be consistently at least one phase behind. They took the credit collapse in 1929–30 for a manifestation of the trade cycle, and the economic collapse in 1931 for a financial crisis calling merely for temporary palliatives. We now see them, within sight of irretrievable political breakdown, bracing themselves up to face last year's economic crisis. But the depression has bitten deep, and political alignments must everywhere be fundamentally affected.

Although the 'psychological corrosive' has eaten deep into the German state, the Reich is now able, according to the same paper, to play France and America off against each other:—

> The dominant groups both in France and in America wish to maintain the comfortable position that they had carved out for themselves by 1919, but the inextricable entanglement of the political and economic maladjustments that now have to be removed makes their defeat only a matter of time. In this new stage of the struggle Germany has powerful new weapons. Against France there is the threat of letting loose a new militarism that could be checked only through war. There is, further, the fact that the French people have quite clearly shown, and will no doubt repeat, their determination not to be dragged down into political and economic wretchedness for the sake of maintaining narrow sectional interests that have recently exploited France for their own aggrandizement. So far as the French people are concerned, they will close with Germany provided America will close with them. Against the United States there are also two obvious levers. Either Germany can threaten default and the loss of the immense American balances in Central Europe, which would probably involve a financial crash in the United States and were sufficient to compel the Hoover moratorium last year. Or, as an alternative, there is the possibility of building up, with the new French orientation, a solid European front against reparations and debts, which, reinforced by a disarmament gesture, could compel American acceptance, if not by reason, then by threat of collective repudiation.

IN SO far as currency difficulties are the fundamental cause of the world depression, the Imperial Conference at Ottawa may point the road to recovery. For one of the chief tasks of the Conference is to establish a single monetary unit for the whole British Empire. The Canadian House of Commons passed a resolution that Canadian delegates should 'initiate and support measures for the stabilization of the currencies of all the British countries in such a manner as to facilitate trade between

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them, and to promote the economic unity of the Empire.' Mr. Downie Stewart, the New Zealand finance minister, has expressed the hope that the Conference will work out a currency policy to alleviate the burden of debt charges from which all the Dominions are suffering. But, according to the London *Times*, immediate establishment of a new imperial currency is not contemplated:—

> The Dominions do not expect the impossible, nor do the other countries that are anxiously looking for guidance from the controllers of sterling. What they ultimately desire is the establishment of an international monetary system under which prices can be restored to something like the 1929 level and both prices and exchanges can be kept stable within reasonable limits. They recognize that the conditions under which such a system could work successfully do not now exist, and cannot be brought about except by international agreement on a number of difficult problems, involving a settlement of outstanding political issues and radical changes in tariffs and economic policies. No one can foresee when this will be possible; at present it seems a dream of the remote future. With world conditions as unstable as they are to-day and as they seem likely to remain for an indefinite time to come, it would not be reasonable to suggest that the British Government should commit themselves to a permanent policy on currency questions.

While the Dominions want a new kind of money that will decrease their debts to the mother country, the English are more alarmed by the prospect of their large domestic population's living off a small area of land and a declining industrial system. Emigration, which formerly kept British population down to what the country could support, has virtually ceased and the tide has been reversed. More people are now entering England than are leaving it, for colonial living conditions are arduous and the Dominions do not welcome new arrivals from the mother country.

AS FAR as England's own economic problems are concerned, the Ottawa Conference cannot accomplish much. Anglo-American trade rivalry will be sharpened in so far as the Dominions grant preferential tariffs to products of the mother country. But even a complete monopoly of Dominion trade would make no great difference since the total white population of Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand is less than the population of the British Isles, whose factories and coal mines once supplied the markets of Europe, Asia, and South America. Nor can any arrangements that may be made with the Argentine or with the Scandinavian countries lead to any great increase of British exports. And, finally, there still remain in England a few million farmers who will suffer if agricultural products from abroad continue to

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enter the country untaxed. The conservative *Saturday Review* criticizes the Government for 'trading away agriculture':—

> British agriculture in its present parlous state produces, and in turn expends, £200,000,000 per annum. Every penny goes into the hands of the home trader and a large part to the British manufacturer. This £200,000,000 exceeds by £40,000,000 our total sales last year to Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, United States, Sweden, Denmark, and the Argentine, and we had an adverse trade balance with all those countries. The Argentine, Denmark, and Russia, chiefly supplying food-stuffs, retained respectively 14*s*., 15*s*., and 16*s*. of every pound we expended with them.
>
> As a nation we can no longer exist by selling manufactured goods abroad and purchasing food-stuffs. All the world is turning to manufacturing. Our past customers not only supply themselves but have become active competitors, and we need a protective wall to defend ourselves against their invasion of our markets. But to destroy the domestic market in erecting that wall would be lunacy. British agriculture is the British manufacturer's best market.

Germany's experience along somewhat similar lines is revealing in this connection. Economic nationalism—or 'autarchy,' as the Hitlerites call it—has been put to the test in the Reich and has proved that even an overpopulated country with meagre agricultural resources can become almost self-sustaining. A table taken from the weekly bulletin of the Institut für Konjunkturforschung shows the percentage of various food-stuffs that were imported into Germany during 1927 and 1931:—

RATIO OF IMPORTS TO CONSUMPTION

Product	1927	1931
Meat	8%	1%
Cereals (for bread)	24	4
Cereals (for feeding)	21	6
Eggs	37	30

Germany is also entirely independent of foreign potatoes and sugar, but figures showing imports of butter, cheese, and vegetables are not available. The other side of the picture is that the same tariffs that have protected the native farmer in his inefficiency have made meat prices in Germany twice what they are in the United States, and grain prices three or four times as high. Clearly, the workers cannot maintain life on this basis indefinitely. Hitler himself could not push autarchy much further than Brüning and Von Papen have done, and the impoverishment and undernourishment of wide masses of the population have doomed the system so completely that no oratory or statistics can save it.

MANY prophecies concerning Germany's immediate future can be made with impunity, but the ultimate fate of the nation remains

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uncertain. Von Papen's *Junker* Government will certainly be superseded soon—it represents a class whose economic power has almost disappeared and whose prestige counts for little among the younger generation of Nazis and Communists. But General von Schleicher and Foreign Minister von Neurath will not vanish without a struggle. Von Schleicher has created an efficient Reichswehr of volunteers—Socialists are thus excluded—and he will probably combine with the Reichswehr some of the private armies—Hitler's storm battalions, the Republican Reichsbanner troops, and the Arbeitsdienst people, groups of unemployed men who work the soil under national control. Thus the two chief military threats to whatever government exists will be emasculated and unemployment relief will be transformed into a military weapon. Wages will be cut and arbitration of labor disputes abandoned. The working class, unable to organize isolated strikes because of unemployment, will have to turn to the general strike as a last resort. The Social Democrats, having gone into opposition, ought to gain in popularity, for they have a strong organization and will no longer be held accountable for the conduct of government and the intensification of the crisis.

NO Great Power has presented itself to the outer world in such consistently false colors as France. Owing largely to the pressure of the heavy industries, which grew rich during the War and richer still during the recent years of rising military expenditures, the outstanding French statesmen and newspapers have advocated a point of view that is becoming increasingly unpopular among the general public. The recent elections showed which way the wind is really blowing, and M. Herriot owes his success at Lausanne to the fact that he did not have to depend on the support of the munition makers. Even his own party members demanded greater boldness than he showed at first and begged him to disregard the fears of the reactionary element, which was voted out of power by a nation that had finally begun to suffer from persistent nationalist folly. Speaking of the past thirteen years, *La Volonté*, chief Paris organ of Herriot's Radical Socialist Party, says:—

> During these years we have been hearing of 'France victorious,' yet this victorious France has been taught to tremble like a France vanquished. Can there be any such thing as victory in an age in which economics automatically redress the balance between nations, and implacably nullify the results of military or political successes?

Of course, powerful reactionary forces still exist, if only because nationalist governments have compromised the whole French financial structure by the loans they granted to Central Europe.

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FIGURES published by the International Labor Office in Geneva show that unemployment increased in virtually every country during April, May, and June of this year, compared with the corresponding months last year, Finland and Poland alone having shown improvement. Not only is 1932 lagging behind 1931, but the spring advance that normally occurs in most industrial states failed to materialize and in many countries there were more people out of work during the second three months of the year than during January, February, and March. Germany's unemployment rose from 4,211,000 in June 1931 to 6,675,307 in June 1932. England, in spite of her tariffs and depreciated currency, had 2,821,840 people out of work this June as against 2,577,916 a year ago. The French unemployed rose from 51,354 to 315,502, but these figures are far from complete and throw more light on the proportional than the actual increase. The American figures are the most vague and discouraging of all and show that, whereas England's unemployment rose from 22 per cent to 22.1 per cent during the second quarter of the year, American unemployment increased from 23 per cent to 38 per cent in the same period.

Another statistical adjunct of the League of Nations, its Economic Committee, has published figures showing that the value of international trade to-day is not more than half what it was in 1929. Here is a table of figures showing in percentages the decline in foreign trade that occurred between the months of January 1930 and January 1932:—

PERCENTAGE DECLINE IN EXTERNAL TRADE

Country	Imports	Exports
Germany	66%	49%
Austria	37	54
Belgium	50	40
Spain	62	70
France	51	51
United Kingdom	39	47
Hungary	59	70
Italy	52	46
Poland	63	58
Rumania	61	42
Sweden	26	34
Switzerland	21	50
Czechoslovakia	48	61
Yugoslavia	59	65
Argentine	54	31
Brazil	44	21
Canada	60	49
United States	58	63
Japan	37	53

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NOT until the spring of 1935 at the earliest can India expect to win from England any further concessions in the way of self-government by constitutional means. The Round-Table Conference having produced three fact-finding commissions that have now completed their tasks, the next step will be the passage by the British Parliament of an all-India federal constitution that will presumably be presented for approval to a hand-picked Indian constituent assembly less representative than the Indian delegation at the Round-Table negotiations of last year. Also, while the constitution is being prepared by Parliament a joint select committee of interested parties in India may be summoned. The constitution itself will consist of two parts, one dealing with provincial self-government, the other with the establishment of a central federal authority. It is this federal centre that presents the chief difficulty, for it must be approved by the Indian States, which are not now subject to any act of the British or British-Indian legislature and cannot be brought into a federation except of their own free will. Formal treaties must therefore be negotiated separately with each state, and, although the British Parliament ought to have finished its labors on the constitution by next Easter, at least two years will be needed for all the states to act. Meanwhile, the British Government is keeping in effect its so-called 'Ordinances'—measures corresponding to the famous Emergency Decrees in Germany—and there is every reason to believe that India is the scene of more trouble than meets the eye. The liberal *Manchester Guardian* remarks:—

> We can neither govern nor 'get out,' and so it is necessary to devise a constitution that seems in India like self-government and in Westminster like the British raj. The sooner it is done the better. No more gestures, no more oratory, no more picturesque assemblies; an India Bill, provincial autonomy, an All-India federation.

The more radical *New Statesman and Nation* was particularly alarmed by a speech of Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, announcing the continuation of the Ordinances:—

> There is to be no more nonsense about treating Indians as equals. They are back again in their position as inferiors whose advice may occasionally be asked, but who can claim no right to a voice in deciding their own constitution. In the whole of his speech the Secretary for India showed no trace of sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of Indians. He still regards Congress as a conspiracy to be suppressed by force. The rule of the Ordinances was, he explained, to be retained except in some unspecified districts where everything is reported to be quiet. What effect can such a speech have in India? Its reception in the Indian press has been exactly that which any informed observer would expect. Its most devastating result, however, is not that it must harden the attitude of the sympathizers with Congress, but that it will come as a final blow to the hopes of

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> many moderate Indians who have been striving to believe in the sincerity of the British Government's declarations of good will even while their friends were being beaten in the street or imprisoned for their political opinions.

TWO important announcements of Japanese policy that have lately received attention among the English-speaking colonies of the Far East substantiate Viscount Ishii's address delivered at a dinner to the American ambassador in Tokyo warning the United States to keep out of Manchuria. On March 21, the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, a newspaper of wide circulation, printed an open letter to the Lytton Commission of the League of Nations, which was investigating Shanghai on the spot, by Admiral H. Kato, formerly commander in chief of the Combined Fleets and chief of the Naval General Staff. Some months later a mimeographed English translation of this document was sent to foreign residents of Japan in order to acquaint them with the justice of the Japanese cause. Admiral Kato began and ended his argument by stating that Japan needs China's friendship because she needs Chinese trade. But a succession of civil wars, atrocities, and treaty violations finally forced Japan to take action. In regard to the Shanghai affair, he intimated that the famous 19th Route Army from Canton was preparing to attack the Japanese settlement:—

> Now about this Shanghai affair, we are getting more and more suspicious that it is not what it looks like on the face of it. Two weeks of fighting with the Cantonese have convinced us of the extraordinary strength of their positions. Those semi-permanent reinforced concrete buttresses, those carefully protected dug-outs, rows after rows of defense works that must have required months of skilled labor to build, a perfect fortress, right in front of that particular section where the Japanese live in dense crowds, the unlikeliest spot ever to be the theatre of war, unless the Chinese chose to make it so, and then that massing of military forces, 35,000 strong, when as yet there was not the remotest prospect, as far as outward signs went, of any immediate chance of warfare. What, indeed, were all these preparations for? Where was the Chinese's enemy when they set about the task, if they were not meditating something against somebody at the earliest opportune moment? When the series of events that preceded the final outbreak is viewed against the background of these major facts, we are tempted to believe in spite of ourselves that there was something deeper than what appeared on the surface.

He then argued that the failure of the Chinese Nationalist Government at Nanking to cope with constant domestic disasters compelled Japan to disregard the League's advice and fight China to a finish. The outcome of this fighting, in his opinion, justified the policy of Japan.

The second important Japanese announcement appeared in the *Gaiko Jiho*, or *Diplomatic Review*, and was written by the editor of that paper, Gyokujo Hanzawa, who is generally acknowledged to be the

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spokesman for the inner circle of soldiers and statesmen now governing the country. Not only does he justify the Manchurian and Shanghai expeditions but he warns all the foreign powers not to interfere in Manchuria, though he suggests a general conference at Shanghai for the purpose of demilitarizing that whole area. Here is the most important and remarkable passage in his article:—

> We want China to realize the importance of her rôle in preserving the peace of the Far East in coöperation with Japan and not with others. We are utterly opposed to the presence of Western nations in the Far East and to the imposition of their will on China. Japan must play the rôle of private tutor, mentor, and guide to China, and if any outsider has to impose its will on China, it must be only Japan. We have not attacked China because we hate her, but to reprimand the militarists and to avenge the numerous injustices that China has inflicted on us. The Chinese now understand that the League of Nations was created primarily to deal with European problems and not with Far Eastern affairs. That is why China dare not declare war on us, in spite of the bellicose utterances of some of her politicians. At first blush, Japan's military action may appear unreasonable; our conscience, however, is clear. The protests of Great Britain and the United States contain a measure of truth, but do not suit the existing state of affairs in the Far East.

FROM the Chinese side come equally alarming reports. The *China Forum*, a new Shanghai weekly with Communist affiliations, asserts that the Chinese Nationalist Government at Nanking has recently submitted to Anglo-French-Japanese domination, surrendering Manchuria to Japan, suppressing the anti-Japanese movement in China, and undertaking a campaign against the Chinese Communists. It is important to remember in this connection that the Nanking Government headed by Chiang Kai-shek is the outgrowth of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang Party. Although ostensibly Nationalist, its leaders did not participate in the Shanghai warfare, and the 19th Route Army, which opposed the Japanese on that occasion, was controlled by the Canton, not the Nanking faction.

The *China Forum*, fearing above all else an attack on Russia, argues that 'Washington's weakness and vacillation throughout the present crisis have compelled Nanking to seek support elsewhere.' But 'the new entente . . . clearly takes on an anti-American character' unless America can be drawn into a general war against the Soviet Union.

> Meanwhile, the European crisis, precipitated by the imminent Fascist régime in Germany, has given pause to major developments in the Far East. All eyes are on Germany at the moment—and not without reason. It is entirely possible that a swiftly developing crisis there will produce war on a world scale in Europe before the Soviet Union is invaded in the Far East. On this chance Japan is only too glad to bide her time.

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War in the Far East, possibly accompanied by a European attack on Russia, has become an immediate possibility. Mr. Rea presents the Japanese case; a Communist the Chinese and Russian.

Let There Be WAR

AN IMPERIALIST-COMMUNIST DEBATE

I. THE HIGHWAY TO HOSTILITIES

By GEORGE BRONSON REA

From the *Far Eastern Review*, American Shanghai Monthly

AMERICAN opinion is beginning to express the thought that a grave mistake was made at the Washington Conference in giving Japan the dominating power in the whole of the Far East, but it is also realized that any attempt to disturb the existing naval balance would affect other delicate strategic problems equally vital to the objects of the Conference. On the other hand, serious minds in Japan are awakening to the fact that, in order to preserve the peace of the Pacific, Japan surrendered her powers of defense on the mainland, exposing the nation to the certain comeback of Russia, the stark hostility of an implacable China, and the inevitability of a showdown in which she will have to make a determined stand in defense of her national security.

Concerned solely with preserving the security of our insular possessions in the Pacific and the maintenance of the Open Door in China, Americans are indifferent to the menace to Japan's existence that looms in the other direction. The whole American peace programme in the Pacific has been based on the theory that Japan is preparing for war over immigration and issues arising therefrom, ignoring the fact that Japan's so-called militarism has been forced upon her by the open preparations of her former antagonist to resume the struggle of 1905 for the mastery of Eastern Asia.

Our big-navy and big-air-force en-

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thusiasts insist upon transforming a good friend, whose welfare depends largely upon the maintenance of close economic relations with us, into the hypothetical enemy against which the nation must prepare. Never did a nation pursue a more unwise policy. Our insensibility to Japan's fundamental problems, which from time to time finds expression in diplomatic moves that impair her security, has engendered suspicions that, unless clarified and rectified in time, must, in the interests of peace and good understanding, lead to another conference in which Japan will demand recognition of the right to apply the same basic laws of self-preservation in Asia that underlie the American Monroe Doctrine or the similar principles that govern the unchangeable British and French conceptions of national security.

Principles that apply in Europe and America must apply in Asia. If they do not, if the other Great Powers decline to arrive at some reasonable adjustment of these Asiatic problems that will permit Japan a free hand to defend herself, without impugning her motives and hampering her actions by reminding her at every step of her obligations to them, they may as well scrap the League Covenant, the Nine-Power Treaty, the Naval Treaty, and the Kellogg Pact and prepare for the inevitable.

The Japanese believe, and the evidence supports their belief, that their very existence is menaced by the operation of treaties that they are expected religiously to observe, while forces over which the other signatories have no control have grown to such ominous proportions that the Powers must either guarantee Japan's security against this menace or stand aside while the Japanese fight their own battle.

If the Powers decline to guarantee Japan against aggression from the direction of Urga and still insist that she faithfully adhere to the letter and spirit of her commitments, as defined by them, there can be only one ending to the dispute. The war of the races, of the white man against the yellow, the war that will make Communism supreme in Asia and hand its vacant spaces over to the prolific Chinese, will have to be fought.

THERE is absolutely no difference between the basic defense problem of Japan and that of France. Notwithstanding that Germany has been disarmed, France knows that the day will arrive when the pressure of American and British opinion will compel a revision of the Pact of Versailles and Europe will again resound to the tramp of marching armies. France is willing to disarm on condition that the United States and Great Britain guarantee her security, and, although Britain has agreed to this in part, the United States refuses to enter into any agreement that commits her to further military adventures in Europe. France has no illusions about the ability of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris to preserve the peace of Europe, so she has carefully and at great cost created her own system of alliances, constructed a new wall of defense along her frontiers from the Channel to the Mediterranean, increased her land and sea forces, mobilized her financial resources, and in the most correct diplomatic language told the United States and Britain that she will brook no

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interference in her affairs. France will fight.

Japan knows that some day she must fight. For the present, her one security is the French system of alliances, which operate as a check on Russia from the west. Should the Polish alliance and the Little Entente collapse and release Russia from attack in that direction, her hands would be free to carry out her cherished programme in Asia. Any disturbance of the delicate balance of power in Europe that would diminish the pressure on Russia's western frontiers would be the signal for immediate war in the Far East, a war that would have to be fought by Japan alone. France therefore stands as the sole guarantor of the peace of Asia and the Far East, the only friend Japan can rely upon in her desperate struggle to preserve her security and right of self-defense against a combination of other Powers so intent upon enforcing their own policies that they give no heed to her danger.

The political line-up in Europe reveals Great Britain and the United States for purely economic reasons favoring Germany's demand for revision of the Versailles Treaty and supporting a chaotic China in her fight to escape recognition of a treaty extracted under duress, while holding Japan to a strict adherence to the terms of the League Covenant, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Kellogg Pact, which deprive her of the right to make a move to defend herself without the consent of other interested Powers, a consent that the events of the past twelve years clearly imply will never be conceded.

France and Japan are in the same boat, their very existence being jeopardized by the refusal of other Powers to understand or sympathize with their problems. The French have officially denied the existence of any secret treaty with Japan, but it goes without saying that there has been an interchange of views and an understanding that under given conditions will bring these two great powers together in defense of the same principles that America and Britain hold as indispensable to their own security.

If such a community of interests should find expression in any definite agreement, in the event of war in the Far East the French and Japanese fleets would command the China seas from Singapore north and present a problem in naval strategy that it would tax the combined American and British navies to overcome. Both Japan and France would be fighting for their right to exist. Keeping this in mind, there is always the possibility that, if pressed to the wall, these two nations will come together in defense of principles now held as a quasi-monopoly by Britain and the United States. The world cannot expect Japan to conform to ideas, policies, and treaties formulated for the maintenance of the *status quo* in Europe and the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity and independence, under cover of which Soviet Russia is conceded full freedom to extend her influence throughout Asia, carry forward the traditional Muscovite programme of territorial expansion at the expense of China, and use this country as the Far Eastern springboard for world revolution, without making a determined effort to protect herself.

The Washington Conference assured China's territorial and adminis-

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trative integrity and independence, but subsequent events clearly indicate that this pledge was intended to operate solely against Japan. It did not prevent Russia's absorption of Mongolia into her system of Soviet Republics; it interposed no objection to a secret understanding between Canton and Moscow; it did not result in coöperative action or intervention on the part of the interested Powers when a Sovietized Cantonese army ran amuck in Nanking and threatened Shanghai with the same fate; it did not hinder the dispatch of a British army to defend the International Settlement; it did not stop the communization of the Yangtze valley; but it did stop the application in 1927 of sanctions that would have saved the situation and avoided the aftermath. The Nine-Power Treaty conferred upon China the right to do as she pleased in developing and maintaining for herself an effective and stable government. It constituted a charter of license and freedom from outside interference in her affairs while she embarked upon a programme of treaty abrogation, warfare against the 'capitalist and imperialist Powers,' and a set policy aimed at undermining the security of Japan and hastening her economic and financial ruin. If the Nine-Power Treaty sets anarchy above the law; if the military oligarchy that is China can abrogate treaties at will, refuse to recognize agreements upon which Japan's rights are based, and resort to war within the Peace Pacts without fear of punishment or retaliation; if through her weakness and instability China cannot discharge her fundamental duties as a sovereign state and defend her neutrality and territorial integrity in regions that vitally affect the security of a neighboring state; if after ten years there is no sign that China can fulfill her share of the 1922 bargain, then preservation of the peace of the Pacific demands that this treaty be reconsidered and revised.

TEN years have been frittered away while the outside world has waited patiently for the war lords of China to make good on their promises. In these ten years, billions of dollars extracted from the people by every form of legal and illegal taxation—wealth that might have transformed China into a first-class power and made for world prosperity—have disappeared into the maw of the insatiable military Moloch that holds the country in subjection. In these twelve years of immunity under the League Covenant and license under the Nine-Power Treaty, China has ruined herself and brought Japan to the brink of disaster and the world face to face with another catastrophic war. With three million men under arms and another two million bandits, Communists, and pirates preying upon the country, China has sunk to a level where she has lost even the semblance of a mediæval state.

The qualifications that entitled her to membership in a league of self-governing sovereign states have disappeared. China is now on a level with territories that come under Article 22 of the League Covenant, unable to stand by herself under the strenuous conditions of the modern world and discharge her duties as a state. Her sole support and guarantee of existence are a series of treaties, based on a hope, which entitle her to invoke their provisions to perpetuate

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a farce that has long since turned into a tragedy.

The well-being and development of five hundred million peaceful people enslaved and harried by an oligarchy of rapacious bandit overlords must become a sacred trust of civilization, or civilization will pay the price for its indifference. Securities for the performance of this trust must be shouldered by the League of Nations if it is to survive as an instrument of world peace. If the League Covenant is interpreted as conceding to this group of irreconcilable, warring factions the dignity of a self-governing state with the right to a seat on the Council and a voice in its deliberations; if the Nine-Power Treaty is to continue to recognize this saturnalia of lawlessness and ineptitude as something sacred that must not be interfered with; if, in other words, the war lords of China are to be permitted all the time necessary to fight out their differences and unify their rule by the sword (a policy that the American Government declares it is prepared to uphold) while Japan is dragged down to economic ruin and exposed to certain attack through the inability of China to discharge her rudimentary obligations as a sovereign state, then the issue can not be side-stepped. Treaties or no treaties, Japan will have to fight for her right to exist.

II. War Is Here

By L. Magyar

From the *Anti-Imperialist Review*, Bimonthly Organ of the League against Imperialism

THE second world war is here! Japanese imperialism has begun it. The uniformed bandits of the Mikado have carried through with their troops the military occupation of Manchuria at the behest of the Japanese trust magnates and big landowners. The town of Chapei with its million inhabitants has been reduced to a heap of ruins. In Chapei alone are 30,000 dead; hundreds of thousands of workers and toilers are homeless. Old men, women, children, and invalids have been indiscriminately murdered. Mountains of corpses of peaceful citizens mark the path of the Japanese robber band. Unfortified open towns have been bombarded. The war has been conducted, not only between the armies, but also against the peaceful population. The fate of Chapei points the fate of hundreds and thousands of European and American towns.

In order even more to mock at the national unity and freedom of the Chinese people, the Japanese bayonets have founded a new state. 'Independent' Manchuria is independent of semi-colonial China, in order now to be converted into a complete colony of Japanese imperialism. And this disgraceful, disgusting comedy is played without the slightest sense of shame. From the Japanese concession in Tientsin has been hauled forth the degenerate semi-idiot, the once Chinese emperor, Pu, and nominated by the Japanese military sabres as the dictator of independent Manchuria. The League of Nations is 'studying' the question. On September 18, 1931, the forces of Japanese capitalism after

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vile provocation occupied Mukden, shot down the workers in the arsenal by artillery fire, and commenced the robber expedition on a large scale. The investigating commission of the League of Nations arrived in Shanghai only in March 1932. Nanking, Swatow, and other Chinese towns have been subjected to bombardment. Tientsin, Tsingtow, and Hankow are threatened with military occupation. One ultimatum after another has been despatched. Half of the existing Japanese army is on Chinese territory. More than ten million Chinese and more than half a million square miles of Chinese territory are groaning under the bloody domination of the Japanese jack boot. In Manchuria, bands of Russian white guards are being organized. Japanese troops are being concentrated on the Soviet-Korean frontier. Japanese troops are on the march to Manchouli and to Sakhalin, towns that lie close to the frontier of the Soviet Union. 'Independent' Manchuria is being made the mobilization centre and the starting point for intervention against the Soviet Union. Strategical railways and aëroplane bases are being constructed in feverish haste; munitions and war materials are being accumulated. The second imperialist world war is already here. Intervention against the Soviet Union is immediately at hand.

The war of Japan against China, the military occupation of Manchuria, the inhuman bloody slaughter round Shanghai and in the Yangtze valley constitute an imperialist robber war. Japan is conducting this imperialist robber war against China, against the Chinese people. The character of this war is so open and obvious that it requires no further proof. Japan seeks for new markets, sources of raw material, and industrial territories for export of capital in China. Representatives of Japanese imperialism speak of the violation of agreements by China. These agreements are the unequal treaties forced on China by the imperialists. The Japanese chauvinists attempt to fool the Japanese people by declaring that the issue is one of the solution of the population and food question of Japan. It is, however, simply a lie to say that there is not sufficient room or food for the Japanese people in Japan. If the dictatorship of the five big Japanese trusts and of the Japanese big landowners were abolished, if the soil of Japan were no more to be monopolized by 40,000 feudal and semi-feudal landowners, if the Japanese peasant were not compelled to hand over half of his harvest to the landowners, if the Japanese worker were not compelled to exist on a colonial starvation wage, if the military-bureaucratic police apparatus of the Mikado did not suppress with its clubs every impulse toward freedom on the part of the Japanese people, if there did not exist in Japan legislation with a death penalty against 'dangerous thoughts'; then there would be enough room, enough land, and enough food for the Japanese people in Japan itself. For this, however, Japanese imperialism would have to be overthrown. And Japanese imperialism will indeed be overthrown by the Japanese workers and peasants.

THE imperialist robber war against China and the preparation of intervention against the Soviet Union represent the attempt of Japanese imperialism to save itself and to find a counter-

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revolutionary, capitalist way out of its crisis. There are more than two million unemployed; production is reduced from 30 to 50 per cent; there is an unprecedentedly severe agrarian crisis that increases the chronic crisis of the semi-feudal Japanese agriculture to the point of catastrophe. Misery and starvation of millions, devaluation of currency, budget deficit, increased prices and cost of living on the basis of a 30 per cent fall in the value of money, catastrophic contraction of the internal market, decrease of foreign trade by 60 per cent, 50 per cent of the commercial shipping lying idle, growth of peasant conflicts, wage reductions, increasing strike struggles, extension of 'dangerous thoughts'—in these ways has the world economic crisis shattered also the foundations of Japanese imperialism. This has taken place, moreover, in a country in which the peasantry lives under the pressure of feudal and semi-feudal agrarian conditions, where financial capital has converted the working class into colonial slaves, where the parliament and so-called bourgeois democracy serve only as the fig leaf for the dictatorship of the semi-feudal Mikado-monarchy, and where five trusts and twelve share companies control more than half of the national resources and the national income. This has taken place also in an imperialist country in which the remnants of feudalism have been more strongly preserved than in any other imperialist country.

The Japanese financial oligarchy and the big landowners attempted to solve the crisis by intensified exploitation of the working class and the toiling peasant masses. They attempted to shift the burdens of the crisis on to the Japanese colonies. In Korea, more than one and a half million persons are faced with death from starvation. In Formosa, whole tribes have been exterminated in order to clear the way for the Japanese plantations. Japanese capitalism made desperate efforts to acquire new markets and new sources of raw material in China, India, Indonesia, East Africa, and even in Turkey and Egypt. A way out of the crisis, however, was not to be found. There followed the imperialist robber war against China.

China represents the biggest potential market, source of raw material, and sphere for export of capital. China is a semi-colony of the imperialist powers where the interests of the biggest imperialist robber states are in conflict. The U. S. A., Britain, Japan, and not least France, are struggling to-day for spheres of influence in China, which does not mean that the other imperialist powers, such as Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, and so on, do not wish to participate in the Chinese booty. The Chinese problem is only a part of the problem of the Pacific. There is no isolated Chinese problem; the Chinese question is closely interlocked with all the world problems. After the World War, after the October Revolution in Russia, after the first great wave of the world revolution, there occurred a temporary stabilization that was also expressed in the fact that the big imperialist powers, U. S. A., Britain, Japan, and France, reached an agreement in regard to spheres of influence and extent, and methods of plundering in China. This agreement, which also related to the problems of the Pacific Ocean and regulated the balance of power in the Pacific, was rotten and

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full of internal contradictions, but it fixed a relative equilibrium, a definite relation of forces between the imperial states. The unequal development of the various imperialist powers has basically altered the relation of forces that was built up through the Washington Treaty concerning China and the problems of the Pacific Ocean. The national revolutionary movement in China itself and in the other colonies has fundamentally changed the relation between imperialism and the colonies. The toiling masses in the colonies, especially in China, are in powerful revolt against the imperialist colonial system. The Chinese revolution of 1925–27 raised the national revolutionary movement of China to a new and higher stage. To-day, one-sixth of China with eighteen million inhabitants under a Soviet government, red armies of Chinese workers and peasants, enormous upsurge of the national revolutionary mass movement even in Kuomintang China, revolutionary upsurge in India, Korea, and the Philippines, armed uprisings in Indo-China, in the Arabian East, in Africa, and in South and Central America—all these things prove that the relation between imperialism and the colonies has been basically altered. The relation between the imperialist world and the Soviet Union has experienced an equally fundamental change. In the capitalist world—crisis, destruction of productive forces, unemployment, idle factories, deep-rooted agrarian crisis, tariff war, devaluation of currency, struggle over gold, mass hunger, cultural decline, growth of class struggle. On the other side, socialist construction, growth of productive forces, no unemployment, rising culture, new giants of socialist industry, raising of the level of life of the toilers, enormous mounting wave of socialist construction in the once suppressed national colonies of Tsarism, and growth of national culture with socialist content among the once suppressed nations—this competition in time of peace between the imperialist and socialist world has already by facts clearly proved the victory of the socialist system, the victory of the Soviet Union.

The temporary, outworn agreement between the imperialist powers over spheres of influence in China was destroyed by the process of development. The Japanese guns in Manchuria have finally put an end to it. The Japanese bayonets in Manchuria, Japanese warships and armies in the Yangtze valley have put the question of a new partition of China on the order of the day. The Soviet regions in China, the Red Army, the Chinese Soviets, and the national revolutionary have in their turn put on the order of the day the question of the complete liberation of China from imperialism.

THE victories of the Soviet people's revolution in China have proved that the Chinese toilers are not prepared to allow themselves to become the colonial slaves of imperialism. Stimson declared in the name of dollar imperialism in his letter to Borah that the validity of all the treaties that were concluded in Washington, that is, of all the treaties that have regulated the relation of forces in the Pacific, has been called in question by the actions of Japan. But the Washington treaties did not relate only to the fortification of the Philippines and

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of the Island of Guam, nor only to the recognition of the so-called principle of the Open Door, but also to regulation of the competition in regard to naval armaments. Consequently, Stimson's letter not only signifies an enormous sharpening of the American-Japanese antagonism, but denotes simultaneously an enormous sharpening of the basic inter-imperialist antagonism, namely, British-American antagonism. But is it only the China treaties that have been torn to pieces? Does the Young Plan still actually exist? Has not the world economic crisis already destroyed the economic and financial foundations of the Young Plan? Do the agreements between the European powers and the United States over the inter-allied war debts still actually exist? Has not the world economic crisis destroyed the assumptions on which the debt regulation was based? Has not the division of the colonies, the division of the whole world as laid down in the system of the Versailles peace treaties lost its validity? The unequal development of the various imperialist countries has raised in all its acuteness the question of a new division of the world.

The question is one of the struggle between two worlds, of the struggle between imperialism and socialism. It is, at the same time, a question of the struggle between two basically different ways out of the crisis. The sharpening of the class struggle in imperialist countries, the sharpening of the national revolutionary struggles in colonial countries indicates, not only that the bourgeoisie is striving for a capitalist way out of the crisis at the expense of the toiling masses, at the expense of the weaker and conquered countries, and at the expense of the colonies, but also that the toiling masses are seeking a revolutionary way out of the crisis. All the basic contradictions of the present epoch have undergone a tremendous sharpening. The imperialist robber expedition in China is only one of the forms through which the effect of these contradictions is manifested.

The basic contradiction of the present epoch is, however, that between the Soviet Union, the citadel of world revolution, and the imperialist world. Consequently, we see the imperialist powers making attempts to form a bloc to carry through intervention against the Soviet Union, putting their own imperialist conflicts in the background. The Tanaka Memorandum openly spoke of the necessity of Japanese imperialism's making war on the Soviet Union. In the documents of leading Japanese politicians that were published in *Izvestia* it is openly said that Japanese imperialism definitely reckons on the participation of Poland and Rumania against the Soviet Union. Behind Poland and Rumania stands France, the ally of Japanese imperialism and the organizer of intervention in Europe. The experience of the earlier attempted intervention demonstrated that even the attack by fourteen states against the Russian Revolution was not sufficient to drown it in the blood of the Russian workers and peasants. Since then the Soviet Union has not only restored its economy but has already doubled the pre-war level of production. Since then, also, the basis of socialist economy has been created in the Soviet Union, the collectivization of agriculture carried through in the decisive regions, and the counter-revolutionary classes, including the

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kulaks, liquidated as a whole in these regions. The productive forces in the Soviet Union have grown and the Soviet power has tremendously increased its capacity for resistance and action. To carry through intervention against the Soviet Union now requires quite different forces from those of fourteen years ago. Therefore, imperialism is attempting to reorganize and strengthen its anti-Soviet front. What is at present being concocted in the devil's kitchen of imperialist diplomacy represents the attempt to effect the reorganizing and strengthening of the front of intervention against the Soviet Union.

The French-Japanese alliance is an accomplished fact. The meaning of this alliance lies in the effort to grip the Soviet Union in a pair of pincers from the East and from the West and to force on it a war on two fronts. From the East, Japanese troops are to be set in motion against the Soviet Union; from the West, Polish, Rumanian, Finnish, Lettish, and not least French troops. This, however, is by a long way not enough. For this reason, Tardieu, in the name of French imperialism, has offered an agreement with British imperialism on all questions of international policy. The agreement is intended to regulate the reparations question, the problem of inter-allied war debts, the armaments question, the Chinese question, and in the first place the question of the relation between capitalist 'civilization' (as *Le Temps* describes it) and the Soviet Union. The sharp end of the Anglo-French alliance is directed also against the U. S. A., but first of all against the Soviet Union. The National Government of MacDonald, Baldwin, and Simon is endeavoring to make an alliance with Japanese imperialism. Has this alliance already been concluded? Close observation of the tactics of British imperialism makes it possible to assume that, in spite of all contradictions, collaboration between Japanese and British imperialism is already assured.

At the same time, Tardieu has declared in the name of French imperialism that an agreement between France and Italy in all questions of international policy is not only possible but desirable. At the same time, also, M. Tardieu comes forward with his plan for the creation of a Danube federation. What is the purpose of this? The so-called 'Little Entente' of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania exists already as a vassal system of political-military alliance under the leadership of French imperialism. Now, Austria and Hungary are to be incorporated in this system. This would mean that the Czech, Rumanian, Yugoslavian, and Hungarian armies are to be led as cannon fodder against the Soviet Union in the next war of intervention. The Franco-British alliance, the negotiations between France and Italy, and Tardieu's Danube federation are also intended to serve to 'encircle' Germany in order to put pressure on Germany and to align it firmly and finally as an active participant in the anti-Soviet front.

THUS, we witness a many-sided effort to forge, extend, reorganize, and strengthen the front of intervention against the Soviet Union. The imperialist antagonisms are not thereby abolished, they cannot be abolished, but the attempt is made to postpone

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a breaking-out of the inner imperialist antagonisms at the cost of intervention against the Soviet Union. The fire and flame of the new imperialist war, the columns of smoke from burning Chapei, light up the true countenance of all classes and all parties in every country. Japanese social democracy entirely and wholly supports Japanese imperialism. The Kuomintang also has to show its true face; weapons were laid down in Manchuria, the five days' 'national hero,' General Ma, has now taken service with Japanese imperialism, the Japanese ultimatum in Shanghai was accepted, Chapei was betrayed. In Geneva and Shanghai, the representatives of the Kuomintang are carrying on negotiations with the representatives of Japanese imperialism. Wang Ching-wei and Chiang Kai-shek were firmly against breaking off diplomatic relations with Japan. They suppressed the mass organizations that carried on the boycott against Japanese goods. They disarmed the volunteers who had conducted a heroic fight against the Japanese invaders.

The Kuomintang Government sabotaged the defense of Shanghai, betrayed the valiant 19th Army, and surrendered Chapei to the Japanese murder bands. But the struggles round Shanghai, the risings in Manchuria, and the national revolutionary struggle throughout the whole of China are of world historical significance for all colonial countries, for the entire anti-imperialist struggle. For seven whole weeks a well-equipped and technically vastly superior Japanese army, backed up by one of the most powerful war fleets in the world, fought in vain for the capture of Chapei. The revolutionary soldiers, workers, students, poorest inhabitants, women, and children beat back the furious attacks of the Japanese troops in heroic, stubborn struggle, in spite of the fact that American, British, French, and Italian imperialism protected the base of operations of the Japanese army in Shanghai. The revolutionary soldiers replied to the comedy of the creation of the so-called 'independent' Manchuria with armed insurrection. The revolutionary struggle against Japanese imperialism, against the partition of China, the revolutionary war of the masses of the people for independence and the unity of the country has become in China a fact of world historical significance.

Ever larger masses of the people realize that the revolutionary war against Japanese intervention can be conducted only if the treacherous Kuomintang is swept away. Ever wider masses are beginning to realize that only the Soviet power, only the Red Army of the Chinese workers and peasants can achieve victory over the imperialists. In the light of the events in China, the counter-revolutionary tactics of Gandhism, the betrayal of national-reformism in India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and so on, stands out even more vividly than before. The events in China prove that only the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle, that only the overcoming of treacherous counter-revolutionary national-reformism can achieve victory over imperialism.

The blazing beacon of the new world war has revealed the true countenance of the League of Nations. Is it worth while to waste words in order to prove that the League of Nations is no weapon of peace but the organizer and instrument of imperial-

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ist war, colonial oppression, and intervention against the Soviet Union? Since September 18, 1931, the League of Nations has fulfilled its mission in masterly fashion to prolong and extend the war and to provoke new wars. Is it worth wasting words over imperialist, petty-bourgeois, and social democratic pacifism? Pacifism has proved itself to be the servant and pathmaker of imperialist war.

It would be more worth while to deal at greater length with the true rôle of the Second International and its sections. These gentlemen have also fully fulfilled their tasks in the organization and preparation of imperialist war. They do everything, and neglect nothing, in order to stop and defeat the working class in its struggle against intervention, in order to disorganize it and win it over to the support of its own imperialist bourgeoisie. The Japanese social democrats have already shown the direction in which all the parties of the Second International are leading. The social imperialists call upon the workers to exercise pressure on the League of Nations and to support their own imperialist governments in supposed attempts to bring about peace. They wage a furious campaign against the Soviet Union, they maintain a deliberate silence on the danger of a new imperialist war, they support their own imperialist bourgeoisie. They encourage the view that war in other countries is good business for their own country; they maintain silence on the danger of an anti-Soviet interventionist war in order the better to prepare for it. They protect the war provokers. The Second International is the International of war provokers.

Imperialist war is already here. Intervention against the Soviet Union is immediately at hand. All true anti-imperialist revolutionary forces must immediately be mobilized in order to deliver a counter blow, to declare war against imperialist war, and to convert the imperialist war into a war against imperialism.

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Two Moscow correspondents, one Austrian, the other British, reach precisely opposite conclusions regarding Russia's farm policy. On the basis of the same facts the Austrian prophesies revolution and the Englishman, evolution.

NEP *or* NEO-NEP

By Two Moscow Correspondents

I. Russia's Farm Fiasco

By Nikolaus Basseches

Translated from the *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna Liberal Daily

THINGS are not going well for Bolshevism on the agricultural battlefield of Russia. On the tenth of May about 78 million acres were under cultivation, less than 30 per cent of the 264 million acres called for under the Five-Year Plan, and a few weeks later the Plan was only 42.7 per cent fulfilled. And in the most fertile parts of the country, the northern Caucasus and the Ukraine, where cultivation is normally in full swing by the first of May, the Plan was not half fulfilled on May 10. In other respects, too, the food situation is becoming really serious. The Astrakhan newspapers state that this year's catch of fish amounted to only one-third of what had been estimated, while the meat situation is even more serious. It would not be wide of the mark to say that the Soviet Union has only about twenty-five to twenty-eight per cent of the cattle it had in the year 1928. Prospects in the vegetable market are also discouraging. Of the million acres of vegetable gardens in the neighborhood of the big cities, only 20.2 per cent were under cultivation by May 15. The highest power in the state, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, has issued a statement pointing out the necessity and importance of raising rabbits and asserting that the Soviet Union would be able to consume no less than two or three

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hundred million rabbits a week. But this announcement has proved as futile as the one proclaiming that all inland waters in the Moscow district must be used for breeding fish.

The truth is that the Soviet Union is undergoing a serious period, perhaps the most serious that it has faced since the civil war. Statute after statute has been passed. Besides the decrees concerning fish and rabbits there have appeared in recent weeks three new statutes profoundly affecting the country's economic structure. The first has to do with the grain problem. The quantity of grain to be delivered to the state at fixed prices has been decreased and the peasants may sell the rest on the open market. The total amount of grain handed over to the state last year came to 22,400,000 tons. This year the state estimates that it will receive less than 20,000,000 tons. It also estimates that some 4,200,000 tons will be sold on the open market. The meat decree that followed the grain decree is still more radical. The amount of meat to be delivered to the state is to be cut in two and the slaughtering of cattle and the sale of meat on the open market are to be permitted henceforth.

The aim of these important decrees is significant. The peasant must be encouraged to produce more. The measures resorted to were intended as tactical manœuvres, but they have degenerated into a strategic retreat and will lead to state capitalism in its purest form. The last remnants of a socialist distribution system are disappearing. What has been referred to in the past as systematic socialist control and planned distribution of goods will gradually come to an end.

In the future there will be a more or less free exchange of goods on the open market between city and country. Private capital will be excluded from this market. Some of the buyers will be ultimate consumers, but most purchases will be made by the state and by nationalized consumers' coöperative societies. The sellers will consist of state farms, collective farms, and individual peasants. The state controls every means of dominating the market, since it has five times as much grain at its disposition as the individuals who sell privately. Nevertheless, this retreat involves great dangers. One danger is that it utterly repudiates the chervonetz currency. Sales on the open market will permit inflationary influences free play.

Yet it is a question whether the recent decrees will yield practical results. So far the peasants have responded only weakly. The promise that peasants will be allowed to sell a small part of their harvest on the open market after January 15, 1933, does not seem to have led to an increase of agricultural activity. But a further retreat on the part of the government is unthinkable. A new declaration permitting private business, such as occurred in 1921, is impossible economically and politically, for neither the peasants nor the individuals who might engage in such business would have faith in this policy. Furthermore, when Lenin declared the New Economic Policy in 1921 there were big reserves of wealth piled up in the country and the return of private business brought these to the surface. To-day there are no more reserves. Theoretically, free business activity could be revived, but it would not of itself yield the country any more bread or meat. Moreover, it could

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not be revived without a change in the state system, for individual traders would no longer arise unless the whole Soviet state were to become bourgeois. But no party and no régime consciously commits suicide. Therefore the government is obliged to steer a middle course.

OFFICIAL figures tell an unmistakable story. On May 10 the state farms had attained the highest percentage of success under the Five-Year Plan, which they were fulfilling 35 per cent. Next came the collective farms that are served by state mechanical and tractor stations and are therefore firmly in state hands. The other collective farms were cultivating only 30 per cent as much land as the Plan demanded. And the individual peasants, who are working about half of all farms that exist to-day, were cultivating only 12.8 per cent as much land as they were expected to.

Voices are already being lifted in party councils urging the liquidation of the collective farms. It is suggested that only twenty per cent of all the peasant farms, instead of the sixty-five per cent planned for when the collective movement was at its height, should remain collectivized. Of course the government will take this path only reluctantly. For, quite apart from the fact that such a course would openly acknowledge that the policy of the ruling party had suffered shipwreck, agricultural anarchy and chaos would inevitably result.

Although the peasants have resisted the government's agricultural campaign energetically, they represent no real danger in themselves to the government, split up as they are into small groups. But the retroactive effect of the unfavorable position of agriculture upon industry and the laboring population will constitute a real danger to the government. The Soviet state is compelled to keep unemployment out of the country, and it is no longer dealing with the workers who existed in the early days of the revolution. At that time a certain number of the industrial workers came from the villages. To-day, however, after three years of industrialization, the old industrial workers have been swallowed up by great masses of workers who have come from the villages. These new masses are, of course, much more difficult to handle. The dangerous food situation in the textile industry of Ivanovo and in the railway workshops of Tver has led to friction, small strikes, and even demonstrations. Being elastic, the Soviet state has been able to overcome such difficulties, and the party members responsible for the trouble have been exiled. But the situation will become more serious if a considerable army of unemployed appears on the streets of Soviet cities. Here is further ground for exercising the greatest foresight. With the help of the new state-capitalist markets an attempt will be made to get what can be got for the city dwellers from the farming districts. A huge reserve of industrial goods is now being assembled. Early in July, when the yield of the harvest can be estimated, these goods will be thrown on the market in order to persuade the peasants to offer their products for sale in the cities. If this manœuvre does not succeed in procuring food-stuffs for the workers, grain and meat will have to be imported from abroad to the cities

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and that, of course, will not completely solve the problem.

But the significance of the situation resides in the fact that there is no way of retreat. Sooner or later the workers must recognize that the collectivization policy, which has cost so much wealth and blood, has ended in a fiasco. In 1928, the critical year for Russian agriculture, which led to the collective movement, the total output of grain amounted to ten million tons. After four years of the first Five-Year Plan, which is now supposed to be completed, the total output of grain, which had risen during recent years to 21,600,000 tons in 1930 and 22,400,000 tons in 1931, will amount at most to ten million tons. That is the picture presented by a state whose economic situation is determined by its agriculture.

II. Neo-Nep in Russia

By a Moscow Correspondent

From *The Economist*, London Financial Weekly

THEORETICALLY the Russian Communist leaders believe in large-scale state and coöperative agricultural enterprises and in an apparatus of distribution that leaves no scope for private trade. Practically, when the country is confronted with food shortage, they are inclined to abate something of their theoretical rigidity and to make concessions to the incurable peasant instincts for individual property and private trade—at least until the immediate crisis of supply has been alleviated. The classical illustration was Lenin's proclamation, in 1921, of the Nep, or New Economic Policy, with its substitution of a tax in kind, and freedom of private trade, for the former requisitioning of the peasants' surplus produce. More recently, in the spring of 1930, Stalin staved off what threatened to be a major political and economic crisis when he assured the peasantry that membership in collective farms did not mean surrender to common ownership of their houses, gardens, chickens, and pigs, and that every peasant family would be allowed to preserve one unsocialized cow. Today the term Neo-Nep, or Newest Economic Policy, might be used to describe the very important changes in Soviet agrarian collection and distribution methods that are outlined and foreshadowed in decrees on grain and meat supply that have recently appeared under the signatures of Stalin and Molotov, and in other recent legislative and administrative acts.

The main points of the grain decree, which appeared first, are that state purchasing organizations will buy, this year, from the peasants at fixed prices about 18,400,000 tons, assuming an average harvest, against over 23,000,000 tons that were bought in this way during 1931. The peasants are free to dispose of the surplus as they choose —either on private markets, where they can get high prices but must also pay dearly for manufactured goods, or in special 'collective-farm bazaars,' where the established farm prices are lower, but where manufactured goods are also sold at more moderate prices. The meat decree was practically a

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repetition of the grain decree, except that the reduction in the centralized collection was more drastic, from 1,414,000 tons to 716,000 tons.

These decrees are calculated to soften and modify quite substantially the system of virtual requisitioning (at fixed prices) of the Russian peasant's most important product, grain —a system that has also applied with varying degrees of strictness to meat, cotton, flax, sugar beets, and other products. From the peasant's standpoint there were two great objections to this system, which was obviously advantageous to the state, interested primarily in assuring the bread supply of the army and of the rapidly growing new industrial centres and in promoting the exportation of grain. Firstly, few travelers who have talked at any length with peasants on collective farms can have failed to hear the complaint that the state collecting agents often underestimated the amount of grain that the peasant family required for its own subsistence and for the maintenance of its domestic animals. Secondly, the rubles that the peasant received for his grain could not be fully or readily converted into manufactured goods. Consequently, the peasant was left with a considerable quantity of rubles; and paper money, in the rural districts, is not a prized possession.

The decision to relax the rigidity of the food collection and distribution system seems to have originated in two causes, which are closely interrelated—the lowered morale and indifference of the peasants and the unsatisfactory food situation of the country. While the Soviet Government has kept the industrial workers, especially in the larger centres, supplied with an adequate ration of the simpler food-stuffs, the shortage of meat and dairy products, even in Moscow, which is better supplied than the provinces, was more pronounced than usual during the last winter. In Ukraine there is apparently a shortage even of bread.

THERE are three main causes for the present food stringency—the necessity for large exports in order to meet foreign commercial obligations; the laying in of reserves for possible military contingencies in the Far East; and the poor functioning of many of the state and collective farms. The first cause is likely to remain burdensome at least for the duration of the world crisis, with its accompaniment of low prices and contracting markets; the removal of the second depends on Japan; but the Soviet authorities are evidently convinced that improvement is possible as regards the third, and that the present decrees will promote this improvement.

Up to a comparatively recent time there was a tendency to look for the solution of the acute shortage of meat and dairy products (itself a prolonged inheritance from the wholesale slaughtering of cattle, pigs, and chickens by the peasants in the winter of 1929–30) in the development of large state cattle and sheep ranches, pig and poultry farms, and in the gradual socialization of the domestic animals that remained in the possession of collective-farm members. A few weeks ago, however, the published results of a governmental investigation revealed widespread mismanagement on the state livestock farms, with consequent high mortality among the animals and

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poor condition of those that survived. About the same time a decree severely censured local officials who had been socializing the farm animals of peasant members of collective farms against their will. To-day the provision of individual incentives to the peasants is temporarily at least an essential element in raising agricultural productivity and hence improving the food supply of the country. But the success of the new system will depend primarily on whether the progress of industry will make available a substantially larger quantity of products that the peasants require for everyday consumption.

When one speaks of a Neo-Nep in Russia one should never forget that this is 1932, not 1921, and that conditions have greatly changed during the intervening eleven years. The loosening up of the Soviet distributive system (a loosening that is further emphasized by a new decree abolishing food rationing except for certain staple products, such as bread, flour, meat, herrings, sugar, and butter) does not mean an abandonment of the collective-farm system or the clearing of the road for any such sweeping revival of speculative private trade as occurred in 1921. It does mean that the individualist spirit that the Russian peasant by no means discards when pressure of economic circumstances brings him into the collective farm is to receive more consideration, at least in the immediate future.

In a sense the new policy in agriculture is a logical complement to the new policy that has prevailed in Soviet industry since Stalin announced his so-called 'six conditions' in an important speech last summer. These conditions, which included the more widespread adoption of piecework and differential wage scales, greater individual responsibility in industry, and a cessation of persecution and discrimination against pre-revolutionary engineers and specialists, have yielded valuable results. The Stalingrad tractor factory, which was a positive eyesore on the Soviet industrial landscape a year ago, is now turning out its full quota of production, and the first quarter of this year showed the substantial gain of 20 per cent in industrial output over the same period in 1931, although this fell short of the year's plan, which called for an increase of 36 per cent. But food supply, which cannot fall too low without affecting labor productivity, has not kept pace with the progress of industry, and it remains to be seen whether the concessions to the peasants' individualist instincts will fully achieve the desired improvement.

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A young French economist relates the post-war history of the franc. He tells how it depreciated, how it was stabilized, and how so much gold accumulated in Paris. And he prophesies trouble in the not very distant future.

HISTORY *of the* Franc

By FRANCIS DELAISI

Translated from *Vu*
Paris Illustrated Topical Weekly

THE French nation is like a rich business man: its accounts are very complicated. It buys and sells a large proportion of its goods abroad, and these operations go to make up its trade balance. It also lends and borrows money abroad and its citizens travel or receive money from tourists. These goings and comings of money, when added to the preceding transactions, comprise its balance sheet. At the same time, there are certain household expenses amounting to a considerable figure that are covered by assessments on various enterprises and that go to make up the national budget. Finally, considerable amounts of savings are put into French or foreign investments or deposited in banks, and the changing value of these savings is indicated by the fluctuations of the Bourse. By combining these four branches of activity we can survey the whole situation as if we were looking at a concern known as France, Incorporated.

Within two years the world crisis has cut our exports in two, and our trade balance of 1931 showed a deficit of 11,800,000,000 francs. Receipts from tourists and interest on foreign investments did not cover this deficit, and M. Abel Gardey, the reporter general, in his report to the Senate, estimated the deficit for the year at six billion francs.

In respect to the budget, he stated that the year 1931 showed a deficit of seven billions and he foresees a similar deficit for the coming year. Finally, as regards individual savings, the general index shows an average decline of 50 per cent in three years in the value of the securities quoted, and

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a drop of 52 per cent in the shares of the banks that hold these securities.

Since all assets have declined and since all balance sheets show a deficit, it might be supposed that the corporation of France is in a bad way or that its Treasury must be very much embarrassed. But not at all. The Bank of France, which is the chief repository of funds, has a formidable hoard of gold amounting to 77 billion francs, or 95 per cent of the paper money in circulation and 70 per cent of the notes payable on sight. It also possesses 10 billion francs' worth of credit abroad in foreign bills of exchange, so that its currency appears to be completely secured against any risk. This is so well known that in every country in the world anyone who doubts the stability of his own currency hastens to purchase French francs. What a strange situation for a country with a deficit to become the refuge for all capital that has taken flight and to have an overflowing Treasury. Surely this is not among the lesser paradoxes of our disorganized epoch. Since no really economic explanation has been given for this phenomenon, people have attributed it to psychological causes, to the harmonious balance of the natural resources of the country, to the prudence of its inhabitants, and to the wisdom of its leaders. French opinion is all too eager to accept this flattering explanation, and even the foreigner adopts it as he looks enviously at this fabulous Treasury. Nevertheless, a few malicious or skeptical spirits are calculating on the forthcoming collapse of a balance that they feel to be a little unreal. Quite recently, from the lofty tribune of the Senate several authoritative voices severely warned our Government of the dangers of exhausting a reserve that is not inexhaustible. I believe that the best way to understand the views of these authorities is to describe the origin of this fabulous hoard and the use that has been made of it up to now. Then perhaps we can discover the best use that can be made of what remains.

THE French public has not yet forgotten the great panic of 1924. At that time anxious voters supported the left bloc, which, being eager to cover the deficit, said that it would take money wherever it was to be found. The average Frenchman, being discreet and well balanced, does not like such extreme statements. Alarmed by the government's financial policy, he did not repurchase new bonds when the old ones fell due, and the Treasury rapidly became empty. New paper money was printed and soon the amazing news began to spread that the bottom had fallen out of everything. When this catastrophe was first announced, capital grew frightened. Of course the average Frenchman is a good patriot, but he does not like to lose his money. While blaming bad citizens for deserting the national currency, each individual began selling French securities and buying foreign ones issued in dollars, pounds sterling, florins, Swiss francs, and so on. The more that foreign securities were bought the more the franc declined, and the more it declined the more it was sold on foreign exchanges. Speculation commenced and the franc was sold short. On the twenty-sixth of July, 1926, the pound was worth 240 francs and the franc had fallen to two sous. Within two

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years thirty billion francs had deserted the national economic system. Traditional French prudence, if such a thing exists, had lost all sense of proportion.

Then came M. Poincaré. With a turn of the hand he made the distracted Chambers vote eight billion francs in new taxes to balance the budget. He also assigned two billion and a half francs from special receipts to the Caisse d'Amortissement, an autonomous sinking fund designed to transform the floating debt into a long-term debt. This great bourgeois knew that a lot of French securities could still be sold provided it was done conservatively. Speculation turned the other way. Within three months the pound had declined fifty per cent, from 240 to 120 francs, and the franc had climbed to four sous.

Seeing what had happened, the unfortunate Frenchman had but one thought—to sell his foreign securities, which were declining, and to buy francs, which were rising. With no more sense of balance than he had shown when he was distrustful, he became wildly confident, and rushed to the bank, offering pounds, dollars, and florins and demanding francs in exchange. French currency rose everywhere, and M. Poincaré, faced with such unexpected affluence, began to wonder whether he should let the national money return to its pre-war level.

But the exporters were becoming anxious. Since they had been selling their products abroad for gold and paying wages at home in depreciated francs, they had made a splendid profit during the decline of the franc and had captured markets from English and American competitors. Also, the financial inspectors noticed that the state, by paying out interest in paper francs on bonds that had been sold for gold, had eased the taxpayers' burden, and that a revalorization of the franc would crush the taxpayer, so that a rise in the franc must be checked at all costs. Every time the franc tended to climb, more francs must be thrown on the market to meet the new demand. But where could these francs be found? The Bank of France did not possess enough capital or reserves and the budget could provide an even smaller sum. For five years, from 1919 to 1924, too much money had been spent, the theory having been that the Boche would pay. All the finance ministers had borrowed in order to cover the deficit, but finally a day came when the French investor, perceiving that the value of his interest payments was declining with the franc, was willing to subscribe only to short-term treasury bonds. The result was that the financial integrity of the state lay at the mercy of public opinion.

The law of June 26, 1926, authorized the Bank of France to buy gold and foreign bills of exchange and to issue a corresponding amount of paper money against this security. From then on everything remained tranquil. After December 1926 the franc remained stationary at about 125 to the pound. It was *de facto* stabilization, but every precaution was taken not to present the situation as final.

Meanwhile the good French citizens, hoping that the franc would be revalorized at a higher figure, kept on selling their foreign holdings. Between December 1926 and June 1927 the Bank of France gave 20 billion francs

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for these securities. In the beginning of 1928, foreseeing the 5 per cent loan that was to be issued in May, foreigners began buying francs, and a new flood of bills of exchange worth 13 billion francs arrived at the Bank of France.

IN order to purchase all these bills of exchange the bank had only to print paper money. No doubt these hundred-franc notes were not so valuable as they used to be on the domestic market, but the rascals who had bought pounds at fifty francs in 1922 now sold them for 124 francs. If the franc had depreciated, they at least got more of them, and in this way avoided depreciation of their capital. They received their just reward for having known enough to escape in time, a reward for prudence if not for patriotism. As for the Bank, having paid out the paper francs, it kept the foreign bills of exchange. In June 1928, after eighteen months of hesitation, M. Poincaré finally decided to stabilize the franc at 124 to the pound.

At that time the gold and foreign bills of exchange purchased by the Bank of France under the law of 1926 were worth 29 billion francs, not counting 15 billion francs' worth of pounds and dollars that were deposited there temporarily. It was a fabulous amount, totaling 44 billions in short-term credits on foreign countries. In order to acquire this wealth the Bank of France merely had to run the printing presses, and to make the operation profitable it merely had to prevent the franc from returning to its former value. That was how the French nation, after having almost gone into bankruptcy, found itself in 1928 the greatest banker in the universe.

How was it going to handle this fabulous sum? Theoretically, it found itself in somewhat the position of an investment trust that has received foreign bills of exchange and securities from its clients and has given them in return its own notes payable on sight in the form of paper money.

To be logical, the state should have offered to those who bought its bills a whole gamut of securities, some of them maturing in six months, some in a year, some in five years, and others in twenty years in order to stagger its obligations as much as possible. At the same time it ought to have purchased foreign notes payable on sight and foreign short- and long-term credits in the same proportions in which it had issued its own notes, so that it could always cover its liabilities. Then it could have used the interest from its foreign holdings to pay the interest on its own bonds and other obligations issued domestically in francs. In this way the state would have funded a large proportion of its debt and at the same time lightened the burden on the taxpayers.

But this no doubt seemed too simple and too reasonable to the nation of Descartes, and the foreign holdings were divided into three groups. First, ten billion francs' worth were handed over to the Treasury to pay foreign debts with, notably the one to America. Secondly, the Bank of France received the greater part with instructions to invest it in short-term loans through foreign banks. Thirdly, about 15 billion francs' worth were handed over by the Bank of France to private banks for them to invest on the great speculative market. As for the 30

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billion francs that were given to individuals, both in paper currency and in franc credits, in return for their foreign securities, if all this money had suddenly gone into circulation it would have meant a tremendous rise in prices and in the cost of living. Luckily, the holders of this money, being good at saving, did not want to spend it, and, moreover, did not yet dare to buy French securities, for confidence does not grow so rapidly as fear. Not knowing what to do with this money, they deposited it in private banks, which invested it either in treasury bonds, which, in turn, were used to pay off the debt that had been contracted during the inflation, or in the Caisse d'Amortissement, which turned the money back to the Bank of France. Having made the rounds from one bank to another, the money therefore returned to its original point of departure. Thus we avoided a crisis of rising prices that would have produced the same results as the famous American boom of 1929.

But all this demanded a very complicated system of bookkeeping. Actually, 30 or 40 billions in francs and the same amount in bills of exchange were divided among three depositories, one the Treasury, which is dependent on the minister of finance; another the autonomous sinking fund known as the Caisse d'Amortissement; and a third the Bank of France, a private establishment controlled by the state. Here was a curious distribution of responsibility. Theoretically, each of these institutions was autonomous, but in practice they were and still are communicating vessels. Francs and bills of exchange kept passing from one to the other in accordance with the desires of three great functionaries, the director of the general movement of money, the governor of the Bank of France, and the director of the Caisse d'Amortissement. It is this triumvirate that for the last five years has been manipulating this enormous fund under the legal responsibility of his High Incompetence, the minister of finance. What have they done with these billions?

M. POINCARÉ, as we have seen, caused a considerable sum in foreign bills of exchange to be handed over to the Treasury to pay foreign debts. But soon afterward an agreement was signed with the United States staggering the French debt payments over sixty-two years, including the four hundred million dollars due on American stocks. The Kreuger loan of two billion francs was repaid and the rest was kept instead of being handed back to the Bank of France. This was why, at the end of 1929, Finance Minister Chéron was able to give his successors a liquid fund in foreign bills of exchange and francs amounting to 19 billion francs.

Such a magnificent heritage inevitably tempted a new minister who was eager to become popular. During the crisis Poincaré had laid a heavy tax on the whole country. Without removing the new taxes, slight rebates totaling 5,876 million francs were now made in every direction. Expenses were not reduced. Quite the contrary. In two years three billion francs were given for social services, local budgets, agriculture, shipping, mining, and pensions—electoral manna that is always welcome. The government had realized the dream of every voter—it had decreased taxes and increased

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expenditures. Of course, the budget showed a deficit, but was n't the Treasury well supplied? Every time any public service was in trouble it helped itself without hesitation. The postal and telegraph department needed money and was given a billion and a half francs. Money was needed for cheap houses in the flooded regions in the south of France, and 1,600 millions were provided. The railway fund was exhausted and 1,400 millions were provided. Nine hundred additional millions were devoted to fortifications on the eastern frontier and two billions to the organization of frontiers. The smiling Tardieu announced to the population that prosperity had arrived, but M. Gardey, the reporter on the budget, more modestly referred to 'the era of facility.'

Meanwhile, the Bank of France did well by the large accumulation of foreign bills of exchange that it had been given. It prudently refrained from involving itself deeply in foreign finance. It placed its money in short-term acceptance drafts on various places and in sight deposits in London, New York, or Amsterdam, and in treasury bonds that had a few months to run. No great profits poured in but prudence never prevents one from doing good business. In the autumn of 1928 the United States Federal Reserve Board, desiring to check stock-market speculation, which was already excessive, decided to reduce its advances to brokers, but the American public, being accustomed to seeing the Stock Exchange rise every day, did not want to stop buying, and call money rose to six, eight, and ten per cent and sometimes even to twelve and sixteen per cent. What a boon this was for capitalists and corporations that had a few millions to spare, if only for a few weeks. And the big French bankers had received no less than 15 billion francs in foreign bills of exchange from the Bank of France. These they placed with New York brokers, and thus American speculation resumed its wild career until the final crash of October 1929. At this point the French banks withdrew their money. Being prudent, they had not speculated themselves. They had simply lent money to speculators. Thanks to the Federal Reserve no broker failed, so that the French bankers lost nothing and for almost a year received interest rates of between six and twelve per cent in return for loans that were collectible at sight. A magnificent operation. All to the glory of French prudence. But, as to the profit, we do not find a trace of it in the treasury books.

After the American crash the Bank of France brought its foreign bills of exchange to Europe and developed great holdings in London, Amsterdam, Zürich, and even Berlin. Always being wiser than the English and American bankers, the French avoided getting fundamentally involved in financing Germany. They preferred to lend money on short term to the Bank of England, which proceeded to loan big sums to the Reichsbank. No doubt the French received more modest interest rates, but at least they did not run any risk from a failure in Germany. They also enjoyed another advantage. Possessing sight credits amounting to many billions on all foreign banks, they could use this credit to exert pressure on foreign governments at any moment.

If Hitler, after his first success at the polls, demanded two portfolios in the

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Brüning cabinet, the threat of a withdrawal of funds from the Reichsbank made him less exigent. And, if the Foreign Office flirted a little too much with Mussolini, the Bank of France began buying gold in London with the pounds that it held, thus threatening to exhaust the low gold reserves of the Bank of England. The whole foreign press angrily denounced this financial hegemony of France. But of course this was pure calumny and twenty government *communiqués* denied it with persistent energy.

What a distance had been covered within three years. In 1926 the French nation had no money and French citizens had no confidence in their currency. In 1929 the Treasury was flooded with gold and France was the asylum for all the gold in the world and dominated all markets. A magnificent recovery. A real miracle. A just reward for the balanced spirit of the most intelligent nation in the world.

BUT then came some sombre days. The Stock-Exchange crash of 1929 prolonged itself into a permanent crisis. The New York banks repatriated the short-term money they had risked in Germany. The Reichsbank turned to the Bank of England, which provided more and more capital borrowed from Paris. But in Vienna the Credit-Anstalt, in which English and German banks held a considerable stake, found itself in danger. The Reichsbank, which then controlled the whole German banking system, could not come to its aid unless Austria joined Germany. But that meant the *Anschluss*. What a horrible thing. The French Government opposed it energetically and at the same time refused all assistance. The Credit-Anstalt blew up. The crash involved the Berlin banks, and capital fled from every quarter. In order to save the mark the German Chancellor forbade the export of capital. Foreign credits were frozen.

The Bank of France was wreathed in smiles, for it had invested only an insignificant amount of money beyond the Rhine, but London was swathed in gloom. The British Treasury asked for a loan. New York and Paris generously advanced ten billion francs in treasury bonds for one year at seven per cent. The French share was made out in francs. What a victory for national self-respect. For the first time the franc was recognized as more solid than the pound sterling. But, alas, the help arrived too late. On September 21, England abandoned the gold standard. Within a few weeks the pound had declined twenty per cent and the Bank of France had lost two and a half billion francs on the enormous pound credits that it had accumulated in London. Thus it appeared that the business of granting short-term loans does not eliminate risk and that it is often more prudent to prevent the collapse of others than to encourage it.

Luckily French wisdom always manages to assert its rights. Was this loss of two and a half billions to be deducted from the profits that had been made from earlier transactions in New York and elsewhere? That would have hurt the stockholders. Then would the state shoulder the loss? But that would have meant allowing it to share past profits as well. A middle road was discovered. The two and a half billions were paid over by the Caisse d'Amortissement to the Bank of

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France, which was charged with reimbursing that amount in fifteen or twenty years out of the sums that it had to pay annually to the state. Thanks to this ingenious system, the stockholders kept their past profits without having to pay out anything for present losses. This is the method usually adopted in Western countries. In contracts between individuals and the state the profits go to the former party and the losses are borne by the latter. As the world crisis continued, it provided numerous examples of this principle.

The nations of Central Europe, being ruined by the decline in agricultural prices, were in straitened circumstances, and certain French banks and industries found themselves seriously involved, notably in respect to the Polish railroad from Silesia to Gdynia and in respect to the port of Budapest and Yugoslavian armaments. Without consulting parliament the French Treasury advanced a billion francs to these states. The money in no way improved their economic situation and we have received nothing in the way of gratitude. What it did was to permit several banks and metallurgical corporations, whose prosperity is notoriously necessary to the security and prestige of France, to balance their books. The government then succeeded in concealing these deals on the ground of diplomatic necessity. But once you have started to indulge your sentiment in this direction it is difficult to stop, especially when your bank contains so many billions.

WHEN the French Line was unable to compete with foreign lines because of the drop in freight rates, the Treasury advanced it 273 million francs in foreign bills of exchange. The Banque d'Alsace-Lorraine, which is directed by a former prime minister, could not pay its depositors. Its losses seriously damaged French prestige in Alsace, the Saar, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. It was therefore taken over by another bank, the Crédit Industriel, which agreed to make good its deposits on condition that all risks incidental to this transaction be covered. The Treasury advanced 901 million francs for the purpose.

But the Banque Nationale de Crédit collapsed the day after the pound fell, and it had 3,200 million francs in deposits to reimburse. Depositors could not be allowed to lose all their confidence in the big banks, so the Treasury had to advance 2,035 millions as a starter. Then 1,433 million more francs were given to the state railways, 1,058 million francs went into roads, and 2,859 millions into the postal and telegraph services. Then there were 1,130 million francs that were discreetly classified as advances in bills of exchange for various purposes.

On the thirty-first of January 1932, there remained of the 19 billion francs left by Finance Minister Chéron at the end of 1929, 313 million paper francs and 1,586 million francs in foreign bills of exchange. The Treasury also had to meet numerous expenses to which it had committed itself and cover a budget deficit of seven billion francs for the current year. It is therefore hardly astonishing that the Caisse d'Amortissement is virtually empty and that loans to banks have been made in the form of treasury bonds to the extent of three billion francs. Within

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two years 15 billion francs have been squandered without discussion or control. Some of these expenditures, according to Abel Gardey, reporter on the budget, 'have been consented to under conditions of manifest illegality.' On the tribune of the Senate, when M. Flandin, then finance minister, was asked for an explanation, he merely replied, 'I beg the Senate not to be more severe on the present government than it was on preceding governments.' Then they talked about something else.

The least that can be said of this policy is that the billions that were accumulated when the franc fell have not served to stave off or mitigate the present crisis in any constructive way. The Treasury has simply been made into an ambulance for the benefit of the sorely wounded. The billions in paper money that were so ingeniously passing between the Treasury, the Bank of France, and the Caisse d'Amortissement have escaped out of their hands. Between 1926 and 1932, the money in circulation increased from 56 to 81 billion francs. France is the only country in the world in which the cost of living has risen since the crisis. And it would have risen much higher if twenty billions in paper currency had not, in the words of Abel Gardey, 'happily been hoarded.'

When we examine the present foreign situation we see that the prudent policy of placing bills of exchange abroad on short term has not guaranteed the Bank of France against serious losses. Warned by the fall of the pound, it has converted most of its bills of exchange into gold, and that is what explains the prodigious rise in its metallic reserves. But even that is not entirely reassuring. M. Poincaré has found a disciple. Sir Montagu Norman has learned how a state can fill its Treasury while depreciating its currency. After letting the pound decline thirty per cent, now that it has begun to rise again he is profiting by stopping the rise and buying dollars and, to a greater degree, francs. The British Parliament has just voted him a special fund of 150 million pounds to aid him in this task. To-morrow or perhaps six months hence, when England finds it convenient to stabilize the pound, the Bank of England will hold sight credits on France amounting to many billion francs. If it wants to convert these holdings into gold, some of our metal will cross the Channel. The flight of capital may begin again and our money may again find itself in peril. The reporter on the budget warned the Senate formally, and it seems to me that the public as well as parliament should understand what he has to say. The new majority must know the truly prodigious situation that it has inherited so that it can defend itself if an effort is made to dislodge it by another panic such as occurred in 1926.

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The younger generation in Germany and Austria is demanding revolution, but most of its members are Nationalists, not Communists. An Austrian professor explains how this has happened.

YOUTH *in* Reaction

By PROFESSOR EIBL

From the *Revue des Vivants*
Paris Literary and Political Monthly

THE support given to extremist political parties by a large proportion of the German inhabitants of Central Europe finds its explanation in a changing conception of life as well as in certain special causes. Let us first consider the changing conception.

In the early 1900's, before the World War, a certain new attitude toward life was already developing. Overemphasis of reason, order, and comprehension was provoking a contrary overemphasis of instinct and will. People were turning away from the clear, controllable surface of life to its hidden, irrational sources. They were responding to the disturbing, mystical depth of things with a pleasant kind of shudder. The name describing all these changes was 'expressionism,' which first was identified with a style of art. Its metaphysician, Henri Bergson, defined *élan vital* as the substance of the world, and its theoretician, William James, defined truth as an accommodation to the necessities of life. The prophet of this movement was Nietzsche, who preceded it by a whole generation.

This shift of cultural interest was perhaps more marked in Germany than in any other nation. In any case, it was more important there than in Anglo-Saxon or Slavic communities, since those two races have achieved a kind of unity between theory and practice. This change also affected the Germans more than the French, who have a happy instinct for everything that is in balance and have never overestimated either the rational or the irrational. But in the field of German culture these two conceptions of life, the theoretical and the practical, were poles apart. The scholar lived in isolation among the ideas of his scien-

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tific domain. The practical man, on the other hand, whether politician, soldier, or business man, did not take a theoretical view of the world, for he was sure of his own superiority and of his close contact with life.

Of course, theoretic idealism never lost its high importance. Concentrated scientific research gave German science a great impetus, and men of superior ability in this field were therefore regarded as the highest type of scholar. But the average man believed that lack of contact with ordinary life made a person into a caricature, and nowhere was the absent-minded scholar made the butt of so many innocent jests as in the German illustrated magazines.

Every reaction against too much spirituality is justified, but it conceals certain dangers. To-day young students regard their scientific training almost exclusively as a means of making a living. The search for truth is of secondary importance. Sport and physical education present an almost perfect counterpoise to these purely practical activities, since athletics reflect the ideal of adapting one's self harmoniously to the many demands of life. But they turn one away from the meditative life, for boys and girls who have enjoyed the beauties of nature and the joy of possessing healthy bodies do not like the idea of living in an office or being surrounded by books.

This tendency among the younger generation, especially among the college students, is essentially intellectual and is more marked in Germany than elsewhere. These young people are determined to enjoy life, though not mere frivolity, which they regard as a kind of disease. They want action, not only in life but in politics, and their programme can be summed up in these words: 'Postponed decisions, fear of initiative, worship of impotence —all that is past. We consider that the aim of all criticism is to arrive at a solution. Without this method no honesty of the spirit is possible.'

The younger generation does not like to veil its soul. It expresses itself frankly, sometimes even grossly, but with simplicity and an admirable sincerity. But resolution and sincerity lead to radical decisions, as revealed in the growth of the Hitler movement and in the less marked growth of the Communist Party. In Germany these two factions are gaining ground at the expense of the Socialists and the bourgeois liberals, while the Catholic Centre Party is holding its own. In Austria the liberal groups and the Christian Socialists have gone over to the Hitlerites. Why has German youth turned radical? The reasons are partly moral, partly economic, the latter being more immediate, the former more deep and lasting. Let us first consider the former.

As everyone knows, the Allies and Germany concluded a preliminary peace in November 1918 based on Wilson's Fourteen Points and on two additional clauses offered by Lloyd George. The conditions included, among other things, the stabilization of Central Europe on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination, a right that was naturally considered to apply to Austria-Hungary, and impartial justice was guaranteed. But, contrary to international law, the treaties of 1919 did not fulfill the conditions of this preliminary peace, although the latter expressly stipu-

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lated that there was to be no deliberation concerning principles, but only concerning the practical details of application. Moreover, the 1919 treaties not only violated the preliminary peace but they rest on the hypothesis of sole war guilt on the part of the Central Powers. This hypothesis was refuted long ago, thanks to the researches of Sidney Fay on the causes of the World War.

It is not mere chance that extremist movements doubled their following in the years when there was a growing conviction that the treaties were unjust. But other factors, too, have caused radicalism to increase. Misery has spread in Germany and Austria, while non-German people have been distressed by increasing disorganization throughout Central Europe and, in fact, all over the world. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to believe that economic distress alone can bring forth and maintain extremist movements. Distress has always freed people's minds and created a new vision of the future. But every idea and every vision owes its strength to man's indeterminable attachment to a hierarchy of values. We should be making a mistake and interpreting history from the materialist point of view if we explained the movements that are now going on throughout the whole German people as being due to hunger for bread and not to hunger for justice.

After peace was signed, all Germans, both in the Reich and in Austria, were convinced that the treaties must be revised. But they differed in the way they judged the spirit of Versailles and Saint-Germain and in the way they wanted to fight it. To Moscow and the European propagandists of Bolshevism, Versailles sums up the capitalist world. From the point of view of extreme, anti-capitalist theorists who explain the nature of capitalism by the fact that the dominating class or group unscrupulously exploits the oppressed members of society, there is no better illustration of this process than the slavery of debt and interest payment that weighs down the vanquished nations and continues for generations. Moscow's programme was therefore quite simple. Struggle against the slavery of the treaties is identical with struggle against capitalism and for Bolshevism. Moscow offers freedom to the workers of all nations and hence to Germans, too.

It is lucky for Germany and Western culture that those Germans who resisted the treaties did not turn to Moscow for aid but found in National Socialism a form that means energetic struggle against Bolshevism. If the millions of electors who voted for Hitler had voted for Moscow during the April elections in Prussia, the largest federal state in Germany would now be Communist and, as far as one can judge, the Communist movement in Central Europe could not have been stopped. Therefore it is a fair statement that Hitler has set himself against the new Jenghiz Khan, and that, in spite of some tactical successes, Moscow has on the whole suffered a great strategic defeat.

There are several explanations for the defeat of Communism. First, news about the atrocities of Communism in Russia, especially the cruel extermination of German peasants. Secondly, the instinctive German revolt against any slavery. Consciousness of their own importance makes Germans believe themselves capable of achieving the new order without

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resort to foreign aid. Also, religious sentiment, which is very much alive in Germany, execrates the anti-religious struggle of Communism. Thirdly, blind luck has favored Germany since her defeat in the War. During the country's socialist and revolutionary phase it was headed by Ebert, a well-balanced and poised Socialist leader, and during its conservative reaction by the wise and just Marshal von Hindenburg. Luck also led to a happy issue of the desperate invasion of the Ruhr. Resistance to the treaties might have been concentrated in one of the big coalition parties in either Germany or Austria. That this did not happen, that another movement came to the fore, which, numbering only eight people at the start, increased its membership to over a million and its supporters to about fifteen million within a few years, has several explanations.

The Germans who resisted the treaties resorted to various methods and judged the treaties with various doctrines. One school of opinion regarded the treaties as unjust and impossible to fulfill but felt that, since Germany had agreed to carry them out and since they were legally valid, they should be fulfilled within the limits of the possible. The other school demanded that the treaties be broken on the grounds that they were based on false hypotheses, that they were never firmly incorporated in international law, and that their execution rested on force. Moral sentiment on the whole accepts the second interpretation, especially now that more is known about the causes of the War and the events of the winter of 1918–1919. The increase of poverty has also played a part.

Why was not resistance more firmly rooted in the old German and Austrian political parties? The parties that enjoyed majorities in 1919—the Social Democrats and Centrists in Germany and the Christian Socialists in Austria, along with the liberals who participated in the government—felt that they were committed to fulfill the treaties. Yet the Social Democratic Party, in preaching struggle against capitalist oppression, and the German Centrist Party and the Austrian Christian Socialists, who base their beliefs on religious faith, on a justice independent of human tyranny, might have started a movement of resistance by sowing the seeds of enthusiasm. But the Socialists surrendered their opportunity to the Communists, while the Centrists and Christian Socialists believed that prudent methods were the surest. Believing as they did, they had confidence that divine justice would reëstablish order, and they still seem to feel the same way.

ULTIMATELY, not only Germany but her neighbors will thank the fates that the great movement in behalf of a new order came from a refusal to obey Moscow. The conservative parties of Germany and Austria do not concern us because they were too much identified with the old order that had just been overthrown to be able to launch a widespread movement. The liberal parties were also impotent, since their democratic ideas had been identified with the ideas of the Allies and with the treaties that rested on these ideas.

National Socialism is a struggle for liberty similar to the struggle that delivered Germany and Austria from Napoleon's yoke a century ago, yet

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with a difference. The former independence movement originated in the ranks of the most experienced people. It was led and organized by the aristocracy, who finally snuffed it out; hence the revolt of 1848. The present movement has no contact with the leading social groups but tends to create new social groups. It arises from great masses of people. It is carried forward by peasants, workers, and intellectuals, and to an even greater extent by multitudes of young people who were deceived by the inflation and now have lost their jobs. Their immediate objects have to do with domestic policies and their programme falls into three parts.

First, the colonization of empty German territory on the eastern frontier with the double purpose of attaching the unemployed to the soil of the country and of creating a permanent rampart against their neighbors to the east, whose growth of population threatens to devour the space that the German people need to remain alive.

Secondly, control of capitalist economy, abolition of the slavery imposed by rents, and establishment of a system of national enterprise in place of the present system of private capital. To accomplish this purpose the state will directly create by act of sovereignty the money necessary to put through great public works whose value will be guaranteed at home by the real value of the works themselves, such as power stations. The National Socialists are convinced that they will be able to introduce a new system into world economy and thus free all people who are suffering from public debt.

Thirdly, a political and cultural party will be established embracing three purposes: to raise a race of men with healthy bodies, to construct a national society through corporations, and to support religion. The idea of physical education is at the moment exaggerated and might lead to a new kind of materialism, but it is a natural reaction to the economic and intellectual domination of foreign elements since the War. It is chiefly a reaction against the predominance of Jews in the banks, the press, literature, and criticism. It is also justified as a reaction against the physiological danger of race degeneration arising from the losses suffered during the War. Finally, it is an instinctive reaction against something that the French military authorities do not seem to have understood in its full psychological significance—the occupation of the Rhineland by black colonial troops. The establishment of houses of prostitution containing white girls for the use of black troops filled the Germans with profound physical horror. Children born from a union of black and white parents represent a danger because of their precocious sexual instincts. I have been assured this not only by National Socialists but by supporters of the Centrist Party in the Rhineland.

The idea of setting up corporations is a reaction to the dissolution of society that has been caused by democracy. It is a mediæval theory that was preached in the nineteenth century by sociologists of the romantic school. The religious ideas are not yet clear, but they are becoming more distinct. At first some of the leaders dreamed of a new religion like that of Hegel as formulated by Benedetto Croce, the philosopher of Fascism, who expressed the idea that God is effective only in action, in the creative action of man.

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But Hitler has hit upon a clearer programme. It is one of resolute struggle against atheist propaganda and a demand for religious instruction in the schools—Catholic instruction in Catholic districts and Protestant in Protestant districts. Being an Austrian, Hitler adopted many ideas from the Christian Socialists of that country. He regards Mayor Lueger of Vienna, the founder of the Christian Socialist Party, as the greatest German mayor. Like Hitler, the Christian Socialists were originally very anti-Semitic and therefore unpopular among the highest ranks of society, including the clergy, because of their violent tendencies.

To understand the different influences of National Socialism in Germany and Austria, we must define the differences between the Christian Socialist Party in Austria and the Centrist Party in Germany on the one hand and between the Social Democratic Party in Austria and the Social Democratic Party in Germany on the other.

The Christian Socialist movement in Austria was a reaction of the petty bourgeois against a capitalism dominated increasingly by Jews and against an intellectual freedom of thought expressed in liberal newspapers also directed by Jews. From the first this movement was strongly anti-Semitic. Being liberal was the same thing as being Jewish. It was also a conservative movement, for the petty bourgeois is naturally conservative. Once he has attained a certain scale of living he seeks repose and his ambition is soon satisfied. When the Crown perceived that the movement was powerful but held no dangers and could even buttress the social order, the Christian Socialists were treated benevolently and became the most faithful allies of the monarchy.

The Centrist Party in Germany, on the other hand, grew out of the struggle against a feudal but Protestant conservative society. It was monarchist, but from the first it sympathized with democratic ideas. It is further from National Socialism than the Austrian Christian Socialists are from the corresponding movement in their country. This is one of the reasons why the wave of the Hitler movement thinned the ranks of the Christian Socialist Party but not those of the Centrist Party. It is easier for an Austrian Christian Socialist to become a Hitlerite than it is for a German Centrist. Considerations of foreign policy also play a part. The Centre is a powerful, well-disciplined party maintained by the proud consciousness of belonging to a great Western nation. Even though conquered, Germany remains a considerable power. Moreover, the struggle for better living conditions was such a natural duty laid upon the whole of German foreign policy that the Centre Party accepted it gladly. Brüning was chiefly responsible for leading his group firmly in the direction of national resistance under pressure of the growing Hitler movement. Thus he was able to keep the esteem of his supporters.

Since Austria is a small nation conditions were different. The prestige of Austrian culture, the divergent interests of the larger non-German states, and the dominating personality of Seipel gave Austria an importance out of proportion to its economic and political strength. But Seipel has now

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been seriously ill for some years and must husband his forces. Apart from him, the party has no leader. The more Seipel effaces himself, the more evident the decline of the Christian Socialist Party becomes in spite of the fact that it at first seemed to have some chance of winning a success abroad owing to its indecisive attitude on the national question. The party lacks clear convictions. It has forgotten that its motto, 'Purely Austrian Sentiment,' which was coined by the old pre-war party, means something quite different now that the Danube monarchy has fallen. It used to be a vow to serve an empire that dominated various nations, whereas after the War it was the vow of a little state whose existence contradicted all historic traditions, since Austria had never been a little state but had been part of a great empire for a thousand years. Seipel never failed to insist that any combination with Germany was possible but that no combination against Germany could be considered.

For three reasons the Austrian Social Democrats have not suffered great losses although they have been attacked by supporters of the swastika cross. In the first place, the Austrian Social Democratic Party is more closely allied with Communism than the German Social Democratic Party and includes many revolutionary fanatics who would be Communists in Germany. That is why Communism has made no progress in Austria. Furthermore, the Austrian Social Democrats have not only come out for coöperation with Germany but have resolutely defended the necessity of the *Anschluss*. They have the advantage of being an opposition party and are therefore able to criticize. Finally, their solid ranks are explained by the fact that the Jewish members of the middle class who voted for the bourgeois block in the last election are now joining the Social Democratic ranks.

WHAT is the bearing of National Socialism on the peace and future of Europe? The reply will depend on what is meant by peace. According to the German interpretation, the present condition is not peace but a continued state of war against the life and the economic basis of Germany and other European nations. In Germany and Austria the words of a French statesman are going the rounds, words that are a kind of leitmotiv summing up the peace treaties: 'There are twenty million Germans too many in the world.' These twenty million are now in movement. They want to live. They do not want to be sacrificed for the so-called stability of peace and they are determined to say this so loud that no one can fail to hear them. First they are attempting a domestic reorganization of Germany. This reorganization aims to make the nation self-sufficient, to create universal enthusiasm, and thus to react so strongly on Europe that German demands for impartial, common rights, for general disarmament, and for treaty revision must be satisfied. It is the *élan vital*, the will to maintain themselves, the will to create new forms of intelligence and communal life that are expressing themselves impetuously on German soil from the North Sea to the Alps. This is why the younger generation does not demand a war of revenge. The need for revenge exists only in

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those who feel wounded at heart, not in those who are uplifted by enthusiasm. Youth still hopes to raise Europe from its present state by moral means, by a new sentiment, a new mentality that no one will be able to resist. It is fighting against present conditions with the fervent conviction that it is promoting peace.

It is only on this basis that an agreement with France is possible. Unfortunately, the French public has been systematically deceived for years on end and it will be difficult to convince it of what is now happening in Central Europe. Every attack on the treaties is regarded in France as a threat of war, and many French newspapers deliberately conceal from the French public that this thesis is false. The French have a wrong idea of the German people. The majority of the French public has not yet seen that the common racial sentiment that unites all Germans is growing, that all the setbacks that the movement to free Germany and Austria has suffered have only strengthened this movement. This German awakening is an idea that cannot be restrained and that is spreading through all German parties. France, which has always believed that ideas are specific forces in history, should not make a mistake so little characteristic of the country and believe that an idea can be killed with bayonets, seduced by gold, or poisoned by gas.

To return to Austria by way of conclusion. A foreigner who does not know what the word Austrian means cannot understand its significance in German. It means 'eastern march.' This meaning is comprehensible only from the point of view of the German empire of which Austria was the eastern rampart. Austria was part of that empire when the south of France did not belong to the French kingdom but to the German empire. Emperor Frederick Barbarossa wore the crown of Burgundy and was crowned at Arles. But when our thoughts revert to the past we find, after a thousand years of struggle between the French and German nations, that they have a common ancestor, Charlemagne, who also founded Austria. Dissension began with the fateful treaty of Verdun, which divided Charlemagne's empire and created between the eastern and western Franks a territory of mixed nationality that became an object of eternal struggle.

Will the future bring a rebirth of Charlemagne's empire in the form of a sincere agreement between the two nations that were once united in that empire, or, after failing to revise the treaties by negotiations, will National Socialism despair and will its massed followers go over to Bolshevism?

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Persons and Personages

The Monarch of Royal Dutch

By Dr. Richard Lewinsohn

Translated from the *Vossische Zeitung*, Berlin Liberal Daily

THE fumes of sulphur that arose after the death of Ivar Kreuger still lie heavily over the world economic system. Not only those directly affected have felt the results of the Kreuger crash; the psychological effects of the catastrophe have been even more widespread. The fall of Kreuger caused millions of men all over the world to lose their faith in the integrity and solidity of credit capital and consequently to distrust those international combines that operate from one or two centres and cast their network over the entire world.

It was inevitable that clouds of skepticism should gather especially heavily over the Deterding combine, the mighty oil trust of the Royal Dutch–Shell group, which has the largest capital of any production enterprise in Europe and, because of the distribution of its capital, is the most internationalized economic conglomerate in the world. Its stocks and bonds have declined seriously on the biggest exchanges, and have given rise to all kinds of disquieting rumors.

The *Vossische Zeitung* has therefore endeavored to investigate a situation that has caused an unusual stir outside Germany. First it let the head of the combine speak for himself. Sir Henri Deterding, the chief power in the Royal Dutch–Shell trust, gave a detailed account of his economic aims and plans in the Whitsuntide edition of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Then, in the financial and business sections of the *Vossische Zeitung* of May 25, an analysis of the trust's recently published balance sheet and interviews with important members of its board of directors threw more light on its financial position. But official explanations and trade-report statistics give only a partial picture of the true state of affairs. They can do no more because the doubts that have recently arisen are founded not so much on objective evidence and indisputable results as on subjective factors and psychological considerations. These doubts centre especially on the personality of Deterding, the last world-trust monarch who still reigns.

If a parallel is to be drawn between the Deterding and Kreuger combines, one thing must be expressly stated in order to avoid any misunderstanding: there is no reason to suppose that manipulations have taken place in the Royal Dutch–Shell trust similar to those that occurred

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in Kreuger's match trust. In other respects, however, a comparison between the two economic organizations forces itself upon us. The Royal Dutch–Shell, like Kreuger's concern, operates with an enormous capital. The two leading companies in the oil combine, the Royal Dutch or, to give it its full name, the Royal Dutch Company for the Working of Petroleum Wells in the Netherlands Indies, and the Shell Transport and Trading Company, together have at their disposal capital shares with a nominal value of over one and a half billion marks. But the international stock exchanges valued the two companies at over thirteen billion marks during the height of the boom period, at six billion marks for a long time, and even to-day, with quotations as low as they are, at about two billion marks.

LIKE the match trust, the oil trust had its origin in a small country. The cradle of the Kreuger combine was Sweden; that of the Deterding combine, Holland. In both cases domestic capital played a leading part in building up the combine, but in neither did it suffice. Kreuger sought money for his trust's continuous expansion chiefly in America, and he clung fast to Wall Street—until it shook him off. Deterding used the French money market and through entering a coalition with the British Shell won the support of Lombard Street. Both combines openly sought to achieve monopolies. The match trust attained a legalized monopoly in many nations; Deterding's oil trust had to content itself with a monopoly in fact and for the most part with only half a monopoly, the other half going to Rockefeller's longer-established Standard Oil trust.

The Deterding combine always surpassed the Kreuger combine in importance, even when Kreuger started to build up on matches his giddy financial realm and varied commercial undertakings. Deterding stuck to one line of business—petroleum. And as petroleum grew in importance the Royal Dutch–Shell became an economic empire of gigantic dimensions. Though Deterding took good care not to burden his trust with unrelated subsidiary organizations, he built it up vertically on a tremendous scale. The Royal Dutch–Shell ranks to-day among the largest shipowners in the world. It possesses a tanker fleet of two and a quarter million tons. The Deterding organization points with especial pride to these floating assets as a sign of prosperity, yet the crisis is affecting oil ships just as it is affecting other freight and passenger steamers. They are lying at port, row upon row, taking an active part in the economic system only through having to pay interest and maintenance costs.

On land, too, and even in the last few years, the Royal Dutch–Shell has been erecting signs of its power and its will to expand. Brand-new Shell palaces are to be seen in the principal cities of America and Asia as

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well as in London, Paris, and Berlin. In London, the seat of the central executive offices, many new offices are arising. A colossal building is going up on the site of the old Cecil Hotel between the Strand and the Thames, another new Shell building is squeezed next to Deterding's extraordinary town house in narrow Saint Helen's Court, and still more have just been opened near the Law Courts. If the combine cannot increase its economic scope during the hard times, it can at least enlarge its office space.

In spite of its mighty dimensions, the Royal Dutch–Shell has remained a one-man concern. It is not so completely dominated by a single individual as the Kreuger trust unfortunately was, but for the last thirty years its unrestricted head has been a Dutchman who has been made an English 'knight'—Henri Wilhelm August Deterding. The 'Napoleon of Oil' did not create his own industry any more than the match king, Ivar Kreuger, did—the credit for that work in the domain of petroleum goes without dispute to old John D. Rockefeller. But Deterding, together with the English founder of Shell, Marcus Samuel, and with the financial help of the Paris Rothschilds, called his combine into being and thereby gave a valuable impetus to the entire oil industry. Just as Rockefeller, by laying pipe lines and instituting new advertising methods, turned petroleum into an article of world commerce, so Deterding, by establishing big and little tank depots and provisioning them from the nearest oil wells, organized the modern mass distribution of petroleum products. When Rockefeller created the first world trust in his Standard Oil Company, petroleum was used chiefly for illuminating purposes. Rockefeller's rise coincided with the triumph of the kerosene lamp. The development of the Royal Dutch–Shell coincided with the spread of petroleum as a motor fuel for automobiles and ships.

Financially, Deterding has never occupied so commanding a position in his combine as Rockefeller has in Standard Oil. It is true that for many years he has invested his large income as general director of the Royal Dutch, guaranteed him in the by-laws and estimated at over a million Dutch guilders a year, in shares of the companies of the combine. But the capital of Royal Dutch and of Shell is so vast that he has not yet risen to the ranks of the influential shareholders. Nor has he, like Ivar Kreuger, indirectly created a key position for himself financially by pooling his commitments in the combine. His powerful position in the trust and in the whole oil industry rests on his organizing achievements and his personality.

In contrast to the cold, calm, polite northerner, Kreuger, Deterding, the Dutchman, has an almost southern temperament. The bold, conquering spirit that he inherited from his Dutch forbears is warmed by his Javanese blood, which is more and more apparent in his outward

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appearance the older he gets. His fighting nature knows no bounds when he wants to overpower a foe. Yet Deterding is a cosmopolitan figure of the greatest personal charm and a negotiator of almost Oriental cunning who often illustrates Talleyrand's saying that speech exists for the purpose of concealing one's thoughts.

MEN of this type are admired and feared, but rarely loved. Even among his Dutch countrymen Deterding does not attract the hero worship that Ivar Kreuger enjoyed in his Swedish homeland as recently as a year ago. During the period of big war profits and in the first years after the War the Deterding combine became the Dutch savings bank just as the Kreuger combine used to be the Swedish savings bank. Even to-day there is scarcely a Dutchman with a hundred thousand guilders who has not got some part of his money invested in Royal Dutch shares. Moreover, a few aristocratic Dutch families have from the beginning been big shareholders in Royal Dutch, for example, the Jizermans, the Delprats, and especially the Loudons, one of whom is chairman of the board of directors of Royal Dutch, while his brother is Dutch ambassador in Paris.

Nevertheless, Deterding's personal position is far from ideal. Dutchmen prefer calm, stable ownership to the sensational management of a world trust. Deterding plays politics more than they like in Amsterdam or the Hague. Moreover, in Holland as elsewhere the question of generations arises. Seventy-six-year-old Deterding belongs to the same generation as Vissering, the former head of the Dutch bank of issue, who had to retire to private life shortly after his institution lost heavily on the pound, and as President Van Aalst of the Netherlands Trading Society, the Dutch bank with which Royal Dutch deals. But while these men, who, like Deterding, rose from colonial careers, are already considered old men and have resigned themselves to this human fate, Deterding regards himself as one of those young men who believe that they can continue to hold their places 'for another twenty years.' No one in Holland will supplant Deterding, who is formally protected by a contract for life. But the inner circles of Royal Dutch are already discussing openly the possibility that in the not far distant future Deterding may turn over the command to a younger man.

This younger man would doubtless be August Kessler, who has already represented the interests of Royal Dutch in the international petroleum conference in New York. Kessler, a man in his middle forties, is the son of 'old Kessler,' to whom Deterding owed his rapid rise. While on a journey through the Dutch East Indies Kessler senior, the real founder of Royal Dutch, discovered young Deterding working as a bank clerk there, and picked him as his successor. Perhaps some day

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Deterding will of his own accord give back the leadership of the oil trust to the Kessler family.

But that time cannot yet be foreseen. 'A man like Deterding does not resign while Royal Dutch shares are standing at a hundred,' a leading man in the combine told me in the Hague. And still less will he do so if the drop in quotations is to be traced to hostile manœuvres, as the Royal Dutch directors suspect. The 'enemy' resides in Paris. In France, as in Holland, a few old families have had large Royal Dutch interests ever since before the War—the Rothschilds; the big industrialist, De La Meurtte; Conte Pastré, and others. But it is not they who wish to oust Deterding. The chief attack on the Paris Bourse comes from an oil magnate whose name resounded through world politics for a time and who then withdrew from publicity—the Armenian, Gulbenkian.

Caloust Sartis Gulbenkian, who came from old Turkey, was active before the War in London as a Shell financial agent, and he performed valuable services in helping Deterding build up his combine, especially in Venezuela. He also played an important part in the struggle over the Mosul oil fields, with the result that he was promised a five-per-cent share in the Irak Petroleum Company. After the War, when the victorious states acquired German and Turkish possessions in Irak, this five per cent was left Gulbenkian in the Treaty of San Remo as a balancing weight on the scales between the conflicting interests of the big English, American, and French oil groups, but it seems that Gulbenkian did not use this important position in a way wholly to the liking of his former friend, Deterding. A conflict broke out between the two old companions in arms and even to-day it still flares up on occasion.

However, even Gulbenkian's significant position in the international oil industry would not have such far-reaching consequences if Soviet Russia had not entered the arena as a producer of oil, thereby creating a wholly new balance of power. Will Sir Henri Deterding, a relentless foe of Moscow, have to bow before the fact of Soviet oil and come to terms with the Russians?

Romain Rolland

By Henri Barbusse

Translated from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Frankfurt Liberal Daily

In THE depths of my heart dwells an image that will always be treasured. It is the figure of Romain Rolland as I saw him after the War. Previously we had enjoyed a slight professional relationship that later became serious and important. When the War was over, people still

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found themselves living in an old society. Everyone had suffered tragedy and hardship. Many recognized the mistakes they had made and saw that profound contradictions were leading to new catastrophes and complete collapse. Those who had the delicacy of perception to feel all this realized that they must set themselves new goals.

During this period Romain Rolland visited me one day. The room in which I received him had an old religious stained-glass window. The colored light that the window threw upon my visitor passed description. He looked pale and undernourished, with his long face, high forehead, and piercing blue eyes. He resembled a figure cut in stained glass himself, only dressed in modern clothes.

Romain Rolland is a mystic, but a mystic who has put behind him all conventional beliefs. He is a rational mystic, devoting his light and flame to just, good works and to the real progress of humanity. As a writer he holds an important place. *Jean Christophe*, *Beethoven*, *Liluli*, *Clerambault*, and his revolutionary dramas exerted a constant influence on the generation following his own. But it is chiefly as a moralist that he has gathered about him a throng of devoted supporters, and a moralist is the same thing as a social man.

Romain Rolland once preached the idealism of the great republican bourgeoisie, the principles of the French Revolution of 1789. He did this so earnestly, so uprightly, so completely, that he came into conflict with the official advocates of these principles. For he himself was not a politician but an apostle who had turned his back on popularity and opportunism. This pure, complete democrat carried his integrity so far that he was pushed aside by the self-styled democratic leaders, and public officials who called themselves republican regarded him as an enemy. He bore the same relationship to them that Jesus as a relentless Jewish prophet bears to Christians, or, to take a less extreme figure, the same relationship that Wycliffe bears to modern Protestants.

He raised his voice against the War in the name of human rights, which, he maintained, had nothing to do with the nationalism that was being administered in such huge doses by the official democratic leaders. From then on he has remained completely independent. He wrote glowing manifestos in praise of freedom of the spirit as the highest good and he opposed all repressions, limitations, and obstacles that were put in the way of the exercise of this freedom. I know better than any man, and no one shall forget it, that the intervention of Romain Rolland and the prestige of his name often forced foreign governments to release certain individual prisoners.

Up to now Romain Rolland has held aloof from struggle. His religion has been a form of idealism that has expressed itself in proclamations or, rather, in a general kind of criticism that has remained too spiritual, too

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moral, and too vague to influence the real and devastating events that are going on about us.

HIS ethical teachings lacked sufficient reality though they were preached in a powerful voice and advocated the complete fulfillment of mind and heart. But he was merely summoning men with an ideal and not with anything that had to do with the world they lived in. He confined himself to protesting against injustice, to condemnation and fury and pessimism. Having accepted the Utopian idea that principles alone can bring society to order, he steeled himself for the impossible task of rebuilding society by commencing on the roof. But a man who is really determined to struggle against the hopeless, soulless mismanagement of capitalist despotism in modern society must build up something new in this society; he must prepare the way for a new order to replace the present confusion, and building up means laying foundations in the earth.

The great transformations of humanity, which has now reached such an acute stage of development, are of great moment because they raise the logical question of life or death. But these transformations can be fulfilled only with the tangible, actual aid of human beings working for a tangible, actual purpose, only by means of collective organization in the social and political field, for the 'political' means the 'social' in movement.

One must abandon one's self-sufficiency. One must take part in the struggle and believe in the sanctity of practical things. There must be no drawing back from the common task which is relentlessly necessary. There must be no sentimental, preconceived reluctance to submit to the strong, fruitful demands of discipline and subordination. One must not cast prayerful glances at certain ideas as if they represented supernatural truths. Everything must be regarded in its relationship to reality. Plato, Tolstoi, Gandhi could not have written their superb works on the salvation of humanity if their ideas had not represented real things. Everything is bringing us back to tangible reality and we are being urged to participate personally. Men whose talents enlighten our minds should not give themselves over to spiritual activity because present historical developments are turning that kind of activity into a game and into art for art's sake.

When such observations are made in relation to Romain Rolland, are n't we simply telling an old story over again? The most important task of the spiritual leader is always to adapt himself to the universal necessity of reconciling present and future. Romain Rolland has just made another step forward because he has decisively broken with the

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past that was holding him back at certain points. He has now announced his enthusiastic allegiance to the work and logic of the future that is being realized by Soviet Russia, though the old world still exists all around. He is said to be working on a life of Lenin. His brilliant, clear mind has surely been tempered forever by his contact with that gigantic worker. He has understood that place must be made in the life of the whole world for men of action and for political ideas in order that the most perfect theories and the most beautiful dreams of the poets and moralists may come true.

Interviewing Von Schleicher

Translated from *Je Suis Partout*, Paris Topical Weekly

On the sixteenth of June, the Agence Radio, a French news service, published an interview with General von Schleicher, the strongest character in the Von Papen cabinet. But most of the Paris newspapers, notably those with special correspondents in Berlin, failed to reproduce the interview in their columns. Yet it is a document of considerable interest. The author of the interview began by drawing a distinction between General von Schleicher as French opinion is beginning to visualize him and another aspect of the same character.

'What have n't we heard in Germany and abroad about this mysterious, remote, guarded man? Legends surround him. He arouses universal curiosity, and everyone is trying to discover his secret thoughts. Is he hiding a dictator behind his ministerial position? Does he aspire to dictatorship himself? Is he the forerunner of a monarchist restoration? Does he want to abolish the Weimar Constitution? These are some of the questions that are being asked. I felt it would be interesting to try to throw some light on this taciturn, impenetrable character.

'The ideas that we have formed of General von Schleicher vanish when he appears in person. He bears a striking resemblance to Joseph Caillaux. Let me emphasize that General von Schleicher did not dodge one of my questions. His conversation seemed that of a man who was eager to explain himself, and he gave every appearance of sincerity.'

The dialogue began as follows:—

'I am a great admirer of the French press,' declared the General. 'It performs its primary function: informing the public. I regard it as very objective. Newspapers representing very different opinions never hesitate to reproduce the actual statements of their adversaries. Such impartiality is impossible in Germany, and I personally regret it.'

'But the French press believes that you aspire to be dictator.'

'That is absurd,' replied the General excitedly. 'Idiotic, completely

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crazy. A dictatorship that rests solely on armed force is bound to meet with obstacles. Remember what happened to Primo de Rivera in Spain. Nobody would commit the same kind of folly in Germany. Nobody. Such a dictatorship could exist only in a vacuum, not in a real world. A dictatorship is possible on one condition: the popular masses must desire it. This is not the case in Germany. There is no yearning here for a dictatorship. People don't want one and we shall not establish one.'

'In France it is said that the Field Marshal, President von Hindenburg, would resign and give way to the Crown Prince as regent.'

'More foolishness. No one believes that such a thing can happen. President Hindenburg will remain president. A regency in Germany is absolutely impossible. The question does not even arise. If, by a misfortune that nobody hopes for, President von Hindenburg could not remain in power because of his health, another president would replace him.'

'General, you are accused of wanting to destroy parliamentary institutions in Germany.'

'In giving you my ideas about the dictatorship I have answered that question. I am for maintaining parliamentary institutions provided they do their duty. A parliament must function. It must make laws. It has no right to waste its time and energies on personal quarrels, for they are a direct contradiction of parliamentary unity.'

A few remarks were made about the forthcoming Reichstag elections and then the conversation turned to Franco-German relations.

'The nationalist parties,' Von Schleicher informed me, 'are the very ones that sincerely desire coöperation with France. We are ready to conclude every economic agreement that France may desire. In our opinion, an economic agreement is indispensable. We have enthusiastically greeted the establishment of the Franco-German Economic Committee, the work of the French ambassador in Berlin, André François-Poncet, who is performing a tremendous task. It is for France to decide what the basis of an economic agreement must be. But let me repeat that we want very close coöperation with France.'

'AND would you accept this coöperation unconditionally?'

'In my opinion three conditions are indispensable. I personally consider them moral conditions, because they would eliminate the inequality from which Germany is suffering and which was imposed on her by the Versailles Treaty, but which, if it would disappear, would lead to a real reconciliation between the two nations bordering on the River Rhine.

'First, acquit Germany of responsibility for having started the World

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War. Secondly, end reparations payments. Thirdly, do away with the inequality of armaments between France and Germany. In putting forward these three conditions we have but one end in view, to put ourselves on a footing of moral equality with France. Our people suffer from the accusation that they caused the War. Our people suffer even more because they are surrounded by neighbors with much more powerful armaments than their own. Do you know what has been the most terrible result of the present condition of our army? Our people are gradually losing interest in the idea of the nation. They say to themselves that a nation which cannot protect the security of its frontiers because of its small army is not performing its first duty. Is n't the prime function of a nation to give its citizens assurance that they will be protected from their neighbors? That is why Germans are losing confidence in the German state.'

'Do you then demand the re-arming of Germany?'

'No, not by any means. We demand the disarmament of France and our other neighbors. We want to be on the same footing as they, and general disarmament would increase our confidence in our little army. But if other nations refused to disarm we should demand in accordance with the Versailles Treaty at least the theoretic right to re-arm. But it would be almost impossible to re-arm Germany for financial reasons.'

'Among the three conditions you enumerate why don't you mention the Danzig Corridor?'

'That question is simpler than people imagine. It concerns only Germany and Poland and we should simply ask France not to interfere.'

'One final question. Does Germany want war?'

'I reply to that just what I did to the first question: absurd, idiotic, crazy. The German people want peace but they want to live. They want their neighbors to recognize that they have the right to live and work, not for themselves alone, but for the peace of humanity. I should like to be understood in France. Our people sincerely desire an economic agreement with France or, if France prefers, some other kind of understanding. We hope to discover the conditions under which France would enter such an arrangement, which should be fertile and happy for both nations.'

Such was the main text of this interview, which contained two important points. First, General von Schleicher and Germany are hostile to any change of government. Secondly, General von Schleicher and Germany are quite disposed to conclude some form of alliance with France.

It should also be pointed out that this document neither raises nor answers the great question of private armies in Germany, the armed troops of political parties, notably Hitler's storm battalions. President Hindenburg, the generals, and Von Schleicher must have had some

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definite reason for restoring the National Socialist troops. Evidently they are preparing a general organization of physical, moral, and military education and are developing a kind of national militia in close association with these National Socialist troops, while Hitler's idea of compulsory service of labor seems on the way to being realized or at least on the way to being organized. Of course, there are many obscure points in the new political combination that is taking charge of the Reich. There are various opinions as to how extensively the National Socialists are involved, and all kinds of guesses are being made as to how long present conditions will last. One thing only is certain in this complex situation of weak and firm alliances. That is the military factor in political evolution. It was precisely this question that neither the German minister nor his French interviewer raised.

But here is something stranger still. This omission is not the only reason why most of the French newspapers kept silent. The discretion shown by the biggest Paris newspapers was the result of messages that arrived during the night of June 16–17, the eve of the Lausanne Conference. Each one was signed by the special correspondent of the newspaper in question and they all took more or less the same form:—

'Editor in chief: Department of Foreign Affairs formally denies Von Schleicher interview given by Agence Radio.'

What had happened was that the Wilhelmstrasse, the Berlin Foreign Office, had officially denied the whole interview and even added that it was in large part apocryphal. A strange history, indeed.

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Here are three inside glimpses of the East. The first explains the Oriental conception of time in terms of Hindu music. The second records the musings of a Buddhist pilgrim. The third describes the suicide epidemic in Japan.

The Orient UNVEILED

A Far Eastern Symposium

I. Music East and West

By René Daumal

Translated from the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Paris Literary Monthly

TIME is man's great enemy, against which he fights a deathly struggle from his birth. The consciousness of pure time, devoid of content, is intolerable. Only try for just a minute to pay attention to time passing and to nothing else. If you succeed you are an exception. Western man tries to kill time by every method, filling it with sensations, emotions, reasoning, various activities, or, much more commonly, with automatic actions that take the place of everything else and permit him to sleep twenty-four hours a day yet maintain the appearance of a fairly well regulated human mechanism. He invents calendars and clocks to transform the pitiless duration that is the form his life takes into a mathematical kind of time that is simply an objective natural law foreign to his own intimate senses. Frequently, however, all these veils that he has thrown over the reality of time reveal themselves as vain illusions. Duration makes itself wearily felt in the cruel form of boredom.

Generally speaking, the Oriental has chosen another method of attack; I mean the thinking Oriental, the conscious Oriental. Such a man is even more of an enemy to the imperialist, colonizing West than he claims to be. The Western type to whom I contrast him is the bourgeois Occidental, who is the victim twice over of his

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traditions and dogmas, since he not only has to submit to them but has to keep strengthening them to maintain himself in power. The Oriental does not try to kill time by going to sleep in a thousand different ways, each one a different form of suicide. By living time instead of killing it he identifies himself with it and annihilates it in his own consciousness. Contrary to the usual belief, it is the Oriental who knows best how to live and how to assimilate immediate reality, and not the Occidental, whose ingenuity is confined to escaping from reality down numberless side roads.

Now music moves in duration. It is a measure of duration and, like duration, it consists of an irreversible succession. Therefore any form of music is concrete time, audible time. It is a marvelous instrument that enables us to seize hold of impalpable time. It is therefore inevitable that the Westerner and the Easterner should both use music to combat this old enemy, each in his own way. The contrast between their two ways of fighting against time are to be found in the musical traditions of the two civilizations.

The truth is that Oriental music bores any purely Western spirit. Instead of disguising the redoubtable devourer of man behind a beautiful sequence of sounds, instead of distracting one, Oriental music keeps bringing one back to the consuming obsession of time. It is always insistently recalling a sad consciousness of duration. The Westerner, on the other hand, seeks in his music a sonorous procession that reclothes and dissembles duration. The musicians of India, and perhaps all Oriental musicians, want sound only in order to emphasize silence. Thus, as Lao-Tsze has said, 'Ten spokes come together to form the hub of a wheel, but it is the hollow centre that permits the wheel to be used. In like manner, a vase is useful not because of the thickness of its sides, but because of the empty space they inclose.' Oriental music endeavors above all else to sculpture successive moments of silence out of duration and the listener relishes each of these moments as the substance of his own life, of his own unhappy consciousness of being limited and confined within his individual skin.

The word 'listen' has two very different meanings according to whether it refers to the one or the other of these two forms of sound. The Occidental derives a double pleasure from music, melodic and harmonic. Let me first discuss the former. In the most fortunate case, when the melody is not simply a low satisfaction of instincts and passions that are aroused and then agreeably calmed by the power of successful noises, what the Western listener chiefly admires is the clever solution of a problem raised by the musician. (May I say that I am not considering in this discussion certain Western musicians—of whom the last and greatest was Bach—who pursued aims foreign to the normal mentality of their civilization?) The first measure brutally breaks silence. *Fiat sonus*, and the sound is separated from silence. The equilibrium is broken and the germ of the melodic world, with all its laws, has already appeared in the first measure. To achieve his glory as a creator the musician must develop this germ until he reëstablishes the equilibrium of the original silence after various incidents and repeti-

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tions. But from the very start one law is imposed on this development of sound. The first break of silence provokes a second, then a third, and so on.

This unfolding of creative power can, when a genius is at work, make your whole skin tingle with the sensation of sublimity. Usually I prefer to look coldly at the listener, who is anxiously suspended on the melodic theme and asking himself every minute how the musician is going to extricate himself from the difficulty into which he has thrown himself, and who sighs with satisfied admiration when finally the succession of sonorous equations is resolved by art into the final silence. Time has been conquered. The reality that is concealed by the melody which he admires is that of an individual will strong enough to impose itself across duration.

ASIATIC man has nothing to do with this kind of art. To the Hindu, in particular, melodic problems have been solved for centuries. The individualism of the Western artist who wants to surpass himself by creating the image of a personal god of his own has no standing in the East. An ancient tradition has limited the number of musical themes, or, one should say, musical colorations—if one may attempt to translate the untranslatable word, '*rag*.' The technique of the *rag* or coloration is minutely governed by very precise and complicated laws. Every *rag* is identified with some hour of the day, some season of the year, some state of the soul. It is male or female and has this or that color. The *rags* are also identified with direct mythological subjects that are often represented in the plastic arts as living creatures. This does not astonish the Hindu, whose Vedic hymns were visualized by the ancient *rishis*, but it may disconcert the Western musician or listener. Yet he should listen to Hindu music if he wants to understand what a miraculous use the Hindu has been able to make of these traditional theories.

He will realize that the musician makes use of *rags* as a poet uses words, which have a fixed grammatical form but which develop an infinite network of suggestiveness when uttered from his mouth. But the *rag* is even more subtle. By taking just one of these themes governed by ancestral rules and repeating it with free variations and interlacing the *rag* with himself, the musician can achieve the true object of his art: he can express moments of silence to which the traditional theme has lent a definite color that enables every listener to savor its atmosphere of suffering more concretely.

Each of these themes has a universally human simplicity—evening, morning, spring, night. I believe that a really and truly Western Westerner cannot stand the sensation of feeling naked and alone in the eternal noon, or in a nocturnal twilight that never ends, that returns pitilessly ten times a minute, lengthening out each twang of the stringed instrument into an eternity of boredom. But if he is able to identify himself by an act of love with the Hindu listener, with the music, or with the Hindu musician, if he has the courage to face his own solitude, he will hear a new and unexpected music, but with something quite different from his fleshly ear.

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Every measure returns to silence every minute, and in each silence he finds himself alone, face to face with himself, always at the same moment. Duration, being resolved into identical instants, vanishes by virtue of a single conscious act. Man grasps himself for what he is in the concrete presence of the instant. Another kind of melody is born, not from the succession of notes, but from the relations between these moments of silence. This explains the impression, often received by Occidentals, of a music developing in a new dimension of time that imposes its rules not only on physical existence but on a more subtle, intimate form of existence. And, furthermore, it is impossible to set down the essentials of the Hindu *rag* by means of our system of musical notation.

Musical tradition in India is well aware that a given *rag* should put the listener in a condition to lay hold of himself in the bare reality of his immediate existence. The *rag* is therefore a form of truth. Its whole meaning exists only when it is played in the moment for which it was conceived. Keyserling, a typical Westerner who is interested in the Orient, tells of visiting the Tagores to hear a little of their native music: 'Yesterday, when I expressed a desire to have a summer theme played on a winter evening, the musicians at first appeared nervous, for it seemed to them impossible.' The suggestive power of the music was such that under its influence the philosopher-count wrote down several very true observations on the subtle art of the *rag*. Hindu music, by its connection with the concrete individual, once again accomplished on that evening the real end of all music, which is to make man conscious of himself.

The same difference exists between the function of instrumental harmony in a Western and an Eastern orchestra. To the Westerner, harmony is defined subjectively by its agreeable character. 'Agreeable' means that which pleases the body, puts the organism at peace, and permits the passions to repose in the slumber of repression. Western harmony is agreeable, it numbs the senses. It assures the listener of calm or of mild and pleasing instinctual activity, and it gives the melody a kind of body or passionate substance. When the same man listens to the dissonance of an Oriental orchestra or to a primitive orchestra in any country he is disagreeably disturbed. He thinks the dissonance unpleasant. It never occurs to him that the anxiety and trouble it causes are not an acoustical phenomenon, bearing no relation to any judgment of value or to any affective appreciation. If he is disturbed, it is by something within himself. At the bottom of his being a profound animal instinct, long repressed by the weight of social life, is perhaps reawakened. He would not care to admit this, for he has spent all his life denying such instincts.

HINDU music remains strictly faithful to the supreme test, 'Know thyself.' Consciously, by a small number of carefully measured chords that seem strange and barbaric to Western ears, it probes a man and turns him inside out like a glove. Moreover, real harmony, in the narrow Western sense of a succession of agreeable chords, plays almost no part in a Hindu orchestra, for, as I have said, its

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power to arouse is equally slight. The living harmony of Indian music is due chiefly to a simultaneous interlacing of complex, definite rhythms that marvelously reflect all the multiplicity of life. It triumphs when this skillful diversity is suddenly resolved in a final dissonance, a single cry of sad consciousness, or in a positive silence that embraces a whole universe. The music of the West has lost this feeling for primitive rhythms. It has forgotten that they can make one think. It subordinates rhythm, which it has simplified and stripped of all its richness and effectiveness, to the principal purpose of the West: distraction, time-killing.

By arranging moments of silence, the theme of the *rag* imposes on man the empty form of immediate consciousness. Consonances and dissonances then fill this form with a content. The organic being of man, with all its contrary, discordant tendencies, is finally aroused and put in the only position in which it can attain freedom, in the lucid consciousness of the instant.

All primitive peoples have been able to set in motion the irresistible power of certain rhythmic alliances, certain dissonances. Often, by some very simple process such as frenzied acceleration, they increase this power to violate and dominate human cœnesthesis. Music thus becomes one of their chief instruments of sorcery, magic, or social communication. The music of the Ibos of Nigeria, to take one example among a thousand, 'touches the most intimate chords in man. It moves his primitive instincts. It exercises over the individual an empire so complete that while it lasts the spirit is almost separated from the body. Even the European, however little disposed to music, feels the elementary forces of his nature strongly moved by the passionate fever of these possessed musicians.' So says G. T. Basden in his book, *Among the Ibos of Nigeria*, quoted by Lévy-Bruhl in his own work, *The Supernatural and Nature in Primitive Mentality*.

The magic music of the primitive inhabitants of India probably nourished the more civilized art of the Aryans. I can bear witness to the almost hypnotic effect that the Dravidians of Ceylon, who are accustomed to performing in the big European fairs, produce with a few rudimentary percussion instruments. It is probable that when the Aryans penetrated Hindustan they discovered similar musical practices among the Dravidians established there.

The Hindus, who contain an extraordinary racial mixture, unquestionably had a greater mastery than any other people of the magic power of music. They knew how to remove it from the realm of religious ritual and purify it, directing it toward more definite, more disinterested ends than magic or propitiation. Their rapid progress and, presently, their skill in manufacturing instruments enabled them to fulfill this purpose. Some of their instruments are of an extremely archaic type, such as the *sarode*, which has a great number of supplementary strings that simply provide resonance. But thanks to the richness of resonance possible, and to the suppleness of the instrument in the hands of the interpreter of the *rag*, this piece of wood and strings vibrates and responds to every note that it gives forth, just as the human organism of the listener responds in silence.

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The result is a power of physiological penetration that is all the more astonishing since it has no connection with the intensity of the sound. On the contrary, the Hindu musician is marvelously skillful at playing almost noiselessly. He plucks a string, and living echoes arise both in the instrument and in the body of the listener. The agile play of his fingers modulates the body of resonance with precise palpitations. The musician lets the sound die, constantly sculpturing it to its death, to silence. And one feels that he continues to sculpture the silence. At this moment the music becomes almost visible about the musician. His fingers seem to be handling luminous, silent veins. He who knows how to listen is revealed to himself at this supreme moment of perfect silence by the musical miracle. The melody, which imposes the form, and the harmony, which evokes the living substance, are joined together in their common end—the silent moment of self-perception.

THE perfection of such an art is connected with that exceptional historical phenomenon, the source of a whole civilization, which might be called the 'Hindu miracle,' just as the impulse that gave rise to our own civilization is referred to as the 'Greek miracle.' Unlike the nations of Europe, India, which has indulged in reflective thought to such an extent that it has had syllogistic logic and scholasticism ever since its earliest days, has not forgotten the primitive base on which every civilization is founded. In spite of the Brahmans and their efforts to protect the white race by the caste system, a fruitful interpenetration has occurred. Ever since the first centuries of Aryan migration to India, there has been intermarriage between the newcomers and the Dravidians. This coexistence of two opposite types of mentality is evident in Hindu writings. In the framework of some perfectly coherent, logical doctrine in the Upanishads we see the unextinguished force of primitive magic participation. In the same way, the emotional power of primitive music has been preserved in Hindu music but has been subjected to the highest functions that can be given to any human art or institution, that of awakening the consciousness, of stimulating people to think of themselves as they are.

It would be artificial to think of Hindu music and dancing separately. When the Hindu dancer performs it is as if he were the chief musician in the orchestra. The *rags* are replaced by *mudras*, or traditional gestures, each of which has as precise a meaning as a word and a power of evocation that can often touch a Westerner who does not know its exact meaning, a man like myself, for instance. The musicians accompany the dancer with their eyes concentrated on him. They envelop him closely in their rhythms as if to uphold his silent movements. They underline his dance, creating at every instant the atmosphere in which the gesture takes its full value. The dancer and the musician are both subject to a kind of rigorous mathematical law. They are both doing exactly the same thing, and you keep thinking you are going to see the wires that attach them to each other. The dance reaches the culmination of its significant power at certain moments of immobility, sudden gulfs of consciousness that are bridged by the

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arrested gesture of the dancer and by the sudden, complete silence of the orchestra.

These *rags* and *mudras*, which are subject to rigid, secular laws, yet are freely interpreted by musicians and dancers, have given extraordinary scope to Hindu pantomime. For there is seldom any distinction between the actor and the dancer. The pantomimist can relate in dance any of the complicated old legends, all of which are familiar to the Hindu audience. There are no spoken lines in the old dance drama. The actors engage in lively pantomimic dialogues, and the orchestra envelops their performance with an atmosphere of sound that gives it its full meaning. Often the orchestra becomes a choir, and human voices glorify the heroes. In spite of all the orthodox Brahmans and all the religious sects, the people still bring together on the stage, for their greater satisfaction, the gods, heroes, genii, and demons of all the Indian cults. The numberless legends about Siva, Rama, and Krishna, with all the embroidery that has been added to them, all these traditional subjects of folklore, sustained by the direct, irresistible power of music, are able to touch the people, even to the lowest peasant. At the same time, the literal meaning of the legend and the emotional meaning of the musical accompaniment are reinforced by a spiritual drama that is not symbolic but is directly stimulated in the consciousness of each individual by what I roughly call successive moments of silence and immobility. Ability to experience this ultimate significance has nothing to do with intellectual culture. It depends only on the individual's degree of consciousness.

II. Pilgrimage to Gautama Buddha

By Ayi Tendulkar

Translated from the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Zürich German-Language Daily

'PERCEIVING with the heart the heart of the world.' These words vibrated within me as I caught my last glimpse of the Vishnupada Temple disappearing behind me, losing itself in the purple shadows cast by the early morning sun. I was making my way to Buddh Gaya, the holiest spot of Buddhism. I was venturing to the Bo tree, to the stone seat of the great Buddha. The narrow road, shaded by parallel rows of trees, extended straight ahead of me and impelled me onward. Rice fields lay on either side, less than six feet below the road's surface. They stretched far into the distance, constantly broken by gentle hills. Insects were humming, the rice fields lay bare in the morning sun, the barren hills became more jagged. The wheels of my tonga labored uphill. 'From here you get your last glimpse of the Vishnupada Temple. Latsahib [the Viceroy] himself came here to see it,' said the narrow-waisted Indian who was driving the tonga, and his black eyes danced.

To his tremendous astonishment, I paid him the money for the whole tonga journey, threw him a package of cigarettes that I had bought at the station, made him a present of the

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leather sandals that I had on my feet, and dismissed him. Only in this way, I reflected, would I be able to approach the great lofty one, the profound Prince of Truth; only in this way could I draw near to Buddha.

BUDDHA was born over two thousand years ago in Lumbini in the province of Nepal, north of Benares, a son of the royal house of Sakya. 'In pleasure and joy, the gods laughed, jubilant and full of happiness,' for Gautama was to bring the highest illumination and salvation and happiness to mankind.

Prince Gautama Buddha learned a great deal. From his earliest youth, he studied all the Brahman rites, learned the various law books of the Yoga, learned how to breathe in and out as the law commanded, learned how to collect his soul and, with his soul thus collected, to say the word of words, 'Om,' both out loud and silently to himself. He learned all this, but he also learned how to lead a happy life suited to the three palaces that the king had caused to be built for him, one for the rainy season, another for the winter season, and the third for the summer season. These mansions were filled with everything that could satisfy the five senses. Prince Gautama dwelt in them, surrounded by luxury, and, when the rainy season, the most beautiful time of the year, arrived, the rooms of the palace were filled with music and women to hold the prince fast and prevent him from ever quitting the palace. He left this pleasure spot only once, to go for a walk in the park. There he saw a crooked old man, bowed down with age, leaning on a staff.

'What has happened to this man?' he asked.

'He is one who is called an old man.'

'And what is an old man?'

'He has not much longer to live.'

'Am I, too, destined to become old?'

'We all are.'

Then the young Gautama was deeply moved and was full of pain and sorrow in the rooms of his palace, saying to himself, 'Woe unto all that are born, if old age is the fate of every form of birth.'

This was the turning point in Buddha's life. He renounced the world, abandoned women and his son, Rahula, gave up his wealth and kingdom, and adopted a homeless existence. He not only renounced his wealth and kingdom, but also age, sickness, and death, three things that hang over us from our birth, for he who is freed from birth is also freed from age, sickness, and death. I believe it was this chain of logic that decided Buddha to give up Brahmanism (though of course he did not know it at the time), for Brahmanism is a cult whose foundation is rebirth.

The ascetic Buddha had his beard and hair shorn and wandered about in solitude, searching for truth. Having outgrown Brahmanism, he sought to find his way to truth by means of self-castigation. Gautama gave himself over to sublime, tremendous hardships. In Uruvela, which is not far from Buddh Gaya, he saw a flowing stream, a deep, clear stream whose banks invited him to bathe. He plunged into it, began washing, and exerted all his strength to hold his breath with mouth, nose, and ears, and not to breathe in or out. He tortured and hurt his body, and took so little nourishment that he became a

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living skeleton. He could grasp the skin on his stomach by seizing hold of his back and he could grasp his back bone by taking hold of his stomach. When he rubbed his hair it would drop off because its roots had rotted.

But Gautama reflected that all ascetics and Brahmans before him had done as much and no more. Even the most extreme asceticism, the most refined tortures, failed to endow him with superhuman completeness and give him full mastery of knowledge and perception in their most noble forms. And he remembered how, when he was a boy, he had been seized with rapture sitting in the cool shade of a pomegranate tree in his father's garden and how he had been able to sink into his own interior being and how this condition had filled him with peace and joy. Thus he came to turn away definitely from Brahmanism. A starved body finds it hard to attain the inner vision. Thenceforward, Gautama took sufficient nourishment, gathered together his spiritual forces, changed his disposition, and perceived the four noble truths concerning suffering, the origin of all suffering, the removal of suffering, and the path that leads to that end.

This perception made Gautama into Buddha, the Sublime One, and, having attained illumination in this way, he spent seven days sitting at the foot of the Bó tree, relishing the delights of redemption. Then he went to Sarnath near Benares and preached his first sermon in the famous Deer Forest. There he founded a community and announced his gospel.

ON the way to my holy goal I thought back over Buddha's life. It seemed to exist before my eyes in full detail because I kept seeing it displayed before me in the form of mural paintings and statues. To-day, in Sarnath, you can still gaze in amazement at scenes depicting his life that were hewn out of stone in bas-relief two thousand years ago as palace ornaments, yet that still keep their original freshness. And there are stupas everywhere, not one of them less than two thousand years old, great domelike, round buildings that were erected over the relics of Buddha. These stupas, majestic monuments to the workmanship of bygone centuries, are strewn all over India—in Sanchi, in Bhopal, in Behar. But there are more of them in Taxila, in northwestern India, than anywhere else. Here a whole city has been unearthed with schools, public buildings, palaces, monasteries, and nunneries. It extends for many square miles and lay ten yards underground, though its majestic pillars rose into the air. It was built by the powerful emperor, Asoka, who was converted to Buddha's teachings and sent out missionaries to all parts of the world that were then known to India. He erected these mighty pillars on which the teachings of Buddha can still be read at the present day. In the valley of the Kabul River and in Taxila one sees thousands and thousands of heads and busts of Buddha and enormous statues of Buddha's feet, the work of supreme painters and sculptors.

In all these representations, which are of interest chiefly to archæologists nowadays, Buddha has the same serene, peaceful smile, broad, intelligent forehead, long ears, and flowing clothes. He always has one finger raised, and there is the same mark on

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his forehead and the same cord around his waist. The same atmosphere permeates these places, a penetrating atmosphere of peace and rest.

But I feel even more stirred by the land that gave birth to Buddha, this land of India where he was born, where he grew to the stature of a great man, the Sublime One. India celebrated his victory, witnessed his fame, and made it possible for him to spread his teachings to the neighboring countries, to Nepal and Ceylon, to Java, Sumatra, Burma, Indo-China, Tibet, China, and Japan. Yet India, where Buddha lived and taught, has completely turned its back on him. It has lost all touch with him and his work. You can spend weeks in India looking for a Buddhist and not find one. Even his doctrine, everything that we know about him to-day, has been reconstructed from Nepalese and Ceylonese texts. In modern times, Western scholars, aided by Chinese texts, were the first to throw light on this unique personality. India cares for its greatest prophet only when it is erecting picturesque monuments to him. The genius of the country made no attempt to preserve the history and teachings of Buddha, but—curiously enough, since Buddha found salvation through rebirth—it invented myths in the form of 'Jatakas,' which pretend to be experiences from previous births of Buddha, but actually consist of nothing but maxims for getting along in the world and recipes of worldly wisdom. In these myths wonderfully beautiful women deceive their husbands in elegant fashion, or a young woman binds the eyes of her aged husband, asks him to provide music, and then dances with her lover. India is a land that loves to bring forth what is great in order to destroy it later with terrible relentlessness. It seems that Siva is the only real god here—Siva who laughs, dances, keeps silent, and then destroys.

That Vishnupada Temple which I saw for the last time when I paid for the tonga, that structure built out of a single block of blue stone, stands proudly in the centre of the town and seems to be laughing scornfully. Every morning the Brahmans assemble there, singing hymns from the Vedas just as they did three thousand years ago and disregarding the fact that only a few miles away Buddha achieved enlightenment and conquered the world with his teaching. This temple is full of bustle, the crowd pushes into it, and one has a hard time forcing one's way through the Sadhus, who are castigating themselves, though Buddha himself abandoned self-punishment.

AND this highway, which in Buddha's time and for many centuries afterward used to be traversed by barefoot monks clad in yellow garments collecting alms in little trays, this tree-lined path that pilgrims from every country took to pay their respects to the Bo tree, is deserted. Only insects are humming here. Bare fields of rice run alongside it, hardly two yards below it, and bare, many-shaped, sharp hills accompany it on its way. It was this road that I followed to the Bo tree.

At the entrance I found an elephant drinking water. The animal belonged to the supervisor of the holy spot and was restlessly swinging its little tail. The great temple rose high above me with a statue of Buddha in every niche. In the middle of the temple is a

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little hall that is dark to the roof. Only a tiny oil lamp burns in it, dimly lighting the face of a life-size statue of Buddha hewn out of stone. It has the familiar peaceful, happy face with its eternal smile and does not seem to care whether the people who enter succeed or fail in taking a photograph with a fifteen-minute exposure. Outside there are big black statues half as high as the temple representing Buddha's mother and his wife, Princess Yasodhara. They, too, are smiling and have a mark on the forehead and full cheeks. Full cheeks—all the thousands of statues of Buddha that I have ever seen in my life except one represent him with full cheeks. In Peshawar I once saw a statue that represented Buddha as a thin-faced ascetic.

Outside, under a roof, is the big, round, flat stone seat where Buddha buried himself in self-contemplation. The Bo tree, once touched in adoration by the heads of millions of believers and to-day merely photographed and fingered by irreverent hands trying to discover whether it is not like any other old tree, is actually not the same one under which Buddha meditated. The original tree does not exist any more, for the one that now spreads its green leaves over the few visitors is a later growth. And when the heat of the midday sun makes the plain of Bibar vibrate, even these few visitors disappear.

But I, who had sought so long for Buddha everywhere, could not tear myself away so easily. I sat down on a stone, hung my head, and murmured to myself, 'Perceiving with the heart the heart of the world, he, the Sublime . . .' India has lost Buddha and with Buddha everything else. Everything?

III. The Psychology of Hara-Kiri

From the *New Statesman and Nation*, London Independent Weekly of the Left

In the East, as elsewhere, the primary causes of war have only an indirect connection with the group psychology of a nation. The popular clamor that makes conflict inevitable is now seen to be among the secondary causes, which may be carefully worked up in advance by what might be called the exploitation of unemployed emotion. An apparently spontaneous outburst of patriotism may be produced in a given community as neatly as the familiar knee-jerk by a tap on the right spot. The complex and dangerous situation in the Far East to-day makes it worth while to follow the Japanese emotional engineers in their search for the right spot to get the maximum kick out of the populace. It is unnecessary (probably impossible) for us to 'understand' the 'mentality' revealed; but what is important is that English people should realize the lines on which a highly suggestible people, capable at present of endless harm, is likely to react in an emergency. The object of these few examples drawn from the Japanese press in the last five months is to indicate these lines, and to leave the moral to point itself.

One of the essentials of militant patriotism is the hero. A campaign without heroes will not take long to exhaust the public interest. Yet the rounding up and shooting down of

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bandits by forces superior in equipment, supplies, and organization is not likely to provide a sufficiency of heroes for the stimulation of the masses. Fortunately for the moral effect of the campaign on Japan, a woman leaped into the breach.

On the eve of his departure for Manchuria, a lieutenant attached to the Ambulance Corps of the 4th Division returned home to find a note pasted to the door. It told all callers to find him at his regimental H.Q. 'Hurrying into his wife's sitting room . . . he found his spouse dead in an extremely orderly manner,' says the *Osaka Mainichi*. She had put on her best costume, written the usual suicide note, and then cut her throat with a dagger, 'which her soldier-husband has treasured.' The note explained that her suicide would leave him free to serve the Emperor without worrying about his wife. 'Words fail to describe my joy to leave you before your heroic march to Manchuria tomorrow.'

The affair of the '*Samurai* Wife' not only gave the shriek-press a splendid opportunity; this 'female version of General Nogi's hara-kiri,' as the pidgin papers dubbed it, set up an example of martyrdom that bids fair to burn like Latimer's candle. It has been followed by dozens of attempts at patriotic suicide since last December. The latest was that of a girl who threw herself under a troop train in Himeji, when some soldiers were leaving to take over garrison duty. Her note kept the same tone: 'Though I cannot be a soldier, I can encourage them by dying' (*Japan Chronicle*, April 21).

Though it is this peculiar attitude toward suicide that seems of main importance, there are other complexes to be used; and another turns on the reactions of the populace to the Japanese sword. These are mediæval. Their obsoleteness is held up as a recommendation. The press loves to explain that no 'foreigner' can ever understand the devotion of the Japanese soldier to the colors, still less the reverence of the *bushi* (warrior) for his sword. The excessive popularity of the 'sword plays,' which consist of little but slow manslaughter, is another side of a complex that seems incredible in the mind of a modern world power. Yet when a reservist private in command of a number of Chinese-Manchurian police at the Fenghwangcheng 'peace-maintenance office' 'became impatient' with some bandits who were shooting at the place, and 'drawing the sharp glinting sword . . . made a sortie, hearing behind him the yells of his Chinese comrades, "Look out,"' his death was 'acclaimed as a unique case of heroism.' 'The struggle reminiscent of a warrior in mediæval Nippon did not last long,' says the egregious *Mainichi*. 'The attackers raised their rifles and fired. The private fell to the ground, his fingers firmly gripping his sword hilt.' This hero rather failed to come off, but Japanese two-handed swords were widely used by the *ronin* (plain-clothes soldiers—dare one say 'bandits'?) in Shanghai, as well as by daredevil naval men, and their mention rarely fails of its effect on the mob.

MALE superiority had not long to wait for its vindication. A well-made wire entanglement at Shanghai defied the best efforts of the pioneers to remove it, and the artillery was either

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not on the spot or inefficient. Three sappers from Kyushu (the emotional parallel is roughly 'sea dogs of Devon') exchanged cups of water in the style of *samurai* going to almost certain death, and determined to break it at all costs. They did so, and were blown to bits. This much is certain: either they attempted to carry out a supply of explosives and were hit, or they actually fastened grenades to themselves before starting. The newspaper accounts contradict their earlier reports and finally decide that they pulled out the pins of the bombs and then rushed into the wire. A fourth man who went out with them and returned alive enjoyed only a day's publicity (with photograph), after which the story became fixed in its popular form, and he was conveniently forgotten. The example to be set was plainly one of self-destruction, not of successful daring.

The dauntless three have been given the name of *nikudan* (literally 'meat bombs') and have undergone something analogous to canonization. It has been pointed out by other observers that the heroes selected for apotheosis by the architects of official Shinto are generally those who have died for the Emperor, without very much consideration of their merits as men or as leaders. Photographs of the three, and prints giving a pictorial account of their death, are now selling all over Japan, and providing material for primary-school homilies. The 'Song of the Human Bombs' achieved an instantaneous success, and in some parts shrines have been dedicated to them. At the back of the San-no-Miya shrine in Kobe the present writer saw the three colored enlargements on an altar, flanked by two candles, and with the traditional offerings of cakes, fruit, coppers, and burning joss sticks before them. And this within five minutes' walk of one of the centres of international Japan!

The dangers of fanatical nationalism run into such narrow channels need no comment. The typical Englishman who speaks in Macbeth's 'Why should I play the Roman fool?' has small sympathy with suicide as the ideal of military valor. To us, Casabianca has always been a somewhat absurd figure in his total lack of 'common sense.' But in this glorification of self-immolation a definite reflex is being cultivated in a people highly trained in collective emotional response; and it is a reflex totally out of place in a world of close-knit economic relations, whose Great Powers have nominally renounced slaughter as a method of policy. Yet in Japan the common sense of those unwilling to be slaughtered at a word is represented as 'Western materialism,' powerless against the 'spiritual' qualities of the Land of the Gods. It remains to be seen in what manner this close emotional integration of a people still somewhat less than grown-up will be employed, whether it will be dropped now that Manchuria has served its turn as a patriotic occasion. Certainly these aspects of the search for violent antidotes for the working leaven of 'dangerous thought' in Japan give one singularly little faith in the 'common sense of the Japanese people' and its supposedly restraining effect on the militarists.

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One of England's great philosophers proclaims that two outstanding issues confront the world to-day—capitalism and war. Here is no half-baked radical, but a true liberal who has kept the faith.

The Two ISSUES

By G. Lowes Dickinson

From *Scrutiny*
Cambridge, England, Literary Quarterly

Scrutiny, I understand, is not primarily a political journal. It will not discuss party politics, or the detailed methods of social or political reforms. But it will consider the broader political issues; and there it is surely right. For, in that larger sense, these determine everybody's life. When, therefore, I was asked to contribute an article to this first number, I thought I could not do better than say a few words about the political outlook, as it appears after the four years of war and the fourteen of what can hardly be called peace.

Peace and war, I will say to begin with, are still the main and dominant issue affecting everybody, whether he realizes it or no, in the most intimate and personal way. For if another big war breaks out, as it might do at almost any moment, every young man of military age will be conscripted, and probably every woman too, and everyone not of military age will be expected to devote himself to work bearing directly upon the war. The French have actually worked out a complete scheme on these lines, and quite possibly the English have too.

Now, though it is only fourteen years after the close of the Great War, the danger of another is more obvious, and perhaps greater, than it was in 1914. Already, indeed, war has been waged in the Far East; and, though there is a temporary lull, there is no sign or probability of permanent peace. Nor is there any evidence that there is a real and genuine revolt against war in what is loosely called public opinion. The pacifists—too few to begin with—are divided among themselves on the great question of sanctions; and their influence suffers accordingly. Another minority, much

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more powerful than they, for it includes the officers of the army, navy, and air force as well as a considerable body of laymen, is skeptical about the possibility, and even the desirability, of getting rid of war; while the mass of people is simply inattentive and indifferent. To illustrate the state of mind in this country, I will recall to your minds that, while Lord Cecil was doing his best at Geneva to stop the Far Eastern War, the Government at home was sanctioning the export of arms to extend and increase it; and this course of procedure was clearly approved by the bulk of public opinion. The same thing, of course, was going on, with the same frank cynicism, in France and in the United States, and, no doubt, in other countries. This one fact, to those who can reflect, throws a flood of light on the real character both of governments and of public opinion.

In England, nevertheless, there is, I should say, no active desire for war, merely the confused muddling that invariably leads to it. But it is very different on the continent of Europe. In Fascist Italy, the whole population, from the age of five upward, is being militarized from top to bottom. Germany, driven to desperation by the treatment meted out to her during the last ten years, with an unemployed population of some seven million male adults, with a standard of life so low as to be hardly better than starvation, with the middle class practically destroyed and with an intellectual proletariat of something like a hundred thousand—Germany is in a state of desperation that was reflected in the enormous minority of Nazis and Communists at the recent presidential election and their successes in Prussia and other states. And the followers of Hitler, it must be remembered, have no constructive policy at all. They are a despairing mob, ready for any adventure, to whatever catastrophes it may lead. Then there is Bolshevist Russia, which, though it is the only state that stands for complete disarmament, is also convinced of both the necessity and the desirability of world revolution, and is devoting much of its energy to fostering that, all over the world, wherever it sees an opportunity, while China is quite likely to go Bolshevist in despair at its treatment by the League and the Powers—in which case, the Eastern War may easily be imported into the West.

THIS is a picture, not I think exaggerated, of the real condition of the world. What, if anything, is youth going to do about it? I cannot answer that question. I can only distinguish certain alternatives. There is, first, the view that it is no use to attack war directly, since it is the consequence of a whole complex of sentiments, passions, political and social conditions, and only a slow process of education and transformation can do away with it. That would be a view sound enough, if we had indefinite time to play about in. But, in view of the really imminent danger of war, we cannot afford to wait a hundred, or fifty, or twenty, or even ten years. A single war on the modern scale, with its necessary consequence, another bad peace, might very likely finish our civilization, either by a swift and therefore more merciful death, or by a slow and agonizing consumption. Youth cannot afford to leave the problem of war

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alone and concentrate on other issues, in the hope that war will eliminate itself.

But, if action is to be immediate, it can take place only through the activities, on the one hand, of the League of Nations, on the other of the Great Powers. I am not one of the many who hate or despise the League of Nations, but I recognize, as everyone else does, that it is very weak just because it is not supported anywhere by the bulk of public opinion. We are thrown back, therefore, on the Great Powers; and that is a rather desperate recourse.

At the moment, therefore, the Disarmament Conference is the balance on which war and peace are being weighed; and two opposing attitudes confront one another. The British and Americans, acting apparently in harmony, are urging the abolition of certain types of weapon; while the French, pursuing consistently the policy they have adopted from the beginning, are insisting on an international force to be directed against an aggressor. This is the dilemma that has held up disarmament for the last ten years, and will hold it up again unless it is somehow circumvented. We English are apt to think that we are plainly right on this issue, and the French plainly wrong. I do not agree. What we ought to have done, I suggest, when M. Tardieu made his proposals, is this. We should have said to the French: 'Certainly! We are all for sanctions. But on condition that national forces be reduced to a mere police to preserve international order.' If the French, as we are apt to suppose, are merely bluffing, that would at least call their bluff. The British attitude in my opinion is, and always has been, mistaken. Nor is it really because we are more pacific than other nations that we refuse to commit ourselves to sanctions. It is because we want to keep a free hand to go to war when we like and abstain when we like. That is the attitude of military and naval authorities, here and everywhere else; and the reason why we have never been able to move a step toward disarmament is that admiralties and war offices are opposed to it, and governments and public opinion follow them like a lot of sheep, though the only place they can lead to is the steep place that plunges down into a sea of blood. You young men may or may not agree with this view, but you ought at least to have a view; for, if you are indifferent, you will pay the price of indifference with your lives.

The other great question to which you cannot afford to be indifferent is that of property. More young men, I suppose, than ever before, even in the better-to-do classes, are in a precarious economic situation; and in the 'working' class we have, in England alone, between two and three millions unemployed. And here it will be worth while for you to consider whether really, under the present economic system, there is any chance that the number of unemployed will ever be reduced, whether it must not, on the contrary, be continually and indefinitely increased. Anyone who wants new light on that subject should read a book by Alec Henderson called *The Economic Consequences of Power Production*, and see if he knows the answer to it. But, putting aside that possibly questionable view, we have, even so, between two and three millions unemployed in England, seven

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millions in Germany, even in France a number that begins to alarm that comparatively prosperous nation, and a similar position in Italy; while, portent of portents, in the United States, hitherto regarded as the El Dorado of capitalism, more millions than can be computed are not merely out of work but starving, with the consequent imminence of a hunger revolution on a scale as yet unprecedented in history. That, surely, is enough to give anyone pause who may be inclined to suppose that our economic system is satisfactory.

IF next one turns to the treatment of this problem by those who govern the world, and who belong, practically everywhere, to the capitalist classes, what have these governments done to deal with unemployment? Their one idea has been economy, and economy means, of necessity, the greatest sacrifices and hardships imposed on those who can least afford them. They have failed to see, or have preferred to ignore, the plain fact that increased taxation, and consequent reduction of incomes, means fewer purchases and therefore injures with one hand the industry it is endeavoring to help with the other. That the governments should perceive what all intelligent economists are now beginning to assert, that it is spending, not saving, that is really wanted, would be expecting too much of them, but it seems that younger men, under the instruction of Mr. Keynes, are beginning to understand that point. All this, and much more, must be said from the merely domestic point of view. And when we turn from domestic to international issues the outlook is even worse. Every country is endeavoring to sell as much as it can and buy as little, with the result that international trade is gradually petering out, throttled by tariffs and currency restrictions. This is how Sir Arthur Salter in his recent book, *Recovery*, describes the position; and Sir Arthur is our best authority, and by no means a pessimist:—

'The defects of the capitalist system have been increasingly robbing it of its benefits. They are now threatening its existence. A period of depression and crisis is one in which its great merit, the expansion of productive capacity under the stimulus of competitive gain, seems wasted; and its main defect, an increasing inability to utilize productive capacity fully and to distribute what it produces tolerably, is seen at its worst. And, in the mood of desperation caused by impoverishment and unemployment, the challenge of another system becomes more formidable. No one can expect that, even if we now get through without disaster, we can long avoid social disintegration and revolution on the widest scale if we have only a prospect of recurring depressions, perhaps of increasing violence.'

On the other hand, and here is the paradox, all this is only one side of the picture. Looked at from another angle, it changes to its own opposite; for, in this world which is in danger of perishing by its own incapacity, the production of wealth is continually increasing. The same science that is preparing, on the one hand, to destroy the world by war, is also furnishing the means to make it rich beyond the dreams of avarice, so that we are perishing in the midst of a plethora of abundance. Listen once more to Sir

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Arthur Salter summing up the facts. In 1925, he tells us, only seven years after the Great War with its immeasurable wastes and losses, world production had increased to 18 per cent above the level of 1913; and by 1929 not only the world as a whole but belligerent Europe had a substantially higher level of prosperity and average standard of living than in 1913. Figures, of course, being averages, are always deceptive, and in this world of increasing wealth the Chinese have been starving by millions. The fact, nevertheless, is that science has put within our reach, if we would but stretch out our hands to take it, all that we need in the way of material wealth. Why then do we not take advantage of our opportunities? The answer is because of our national passions, our class antagonisms, the lack of intelligence in our leaders of industry, and the general ignorance and indifference of our populations.

But now turn and look at another great fact. In one country and one only, Bolshevist Russia, the first attempt in history is being made, on a vast scale, to reconstruct society on the basis of the principle: 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.' I need not elaborate the obvious qualifications that are necessary to convert that epigram into a political truth for the modern world. The term 'work,' of course, requires definition, and the exceptions, such as children, the sick, and the old, require recognition. But the principle is sound, and I would suggest to the young that that too is a matter of the first importance to all of them, and not merely to those who are politically minded. What is wrong with Bolshevist Russia is not its goal, but its method, which is that of violence and dictatorship by a minority. Those evils, it is true, were forced upon Russia by the greater evil of the Tsardom, and by the desperate efforts of the old régime, supported by this country, to overthrow the Revolution by force. That, however, does not destroy and should not conceal the significance of the Bolshevist Revolution. For Russia, in spite of agonies, cruelties, and follies, is blazing the path for the world. The economic system she is determined to establish is the right one; it is the means that she has been compelled to adopt that are wrong. The Western world might, if it would, reach the same goal by a process less bloody and destructive. But for that we shall need the conviction and the work of the young.

I have selected as my theme these two issues of war and capitalism because they are plainly the great issues of our time and because they must affect, directly and radically, everyone, whether a politician or no. They are no longer now what they might well have seemed when I was young, 'academic.' They stand here at the door like fates. Destruction or salvation, and that not in some dim future but to-day or to-morrow, that is what politics, as I understand the matter, really means. Nor does politics exclude science, literature, art. Science in fact is a great political engine, working for good or for evil as it is directed by those who control society; and even if literature and art are held (wrongly I think) to be independent of all other interests, yet artists and writers are not. We really are, whether we like it or not, all members of one another, and that membership is one of the things *Scrutiny* can hardly avoid scrutinizing.

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Sheer pressure of events has brought to life a major prophet of the nineteenth century. Donoso Cortés, statesman, publicist, and scholar, was driven by his fervent Catholicism to many of the same conclusions that his political enemies reached by other paths.

DONOSO Doloroso

By JOSEPH BERNHART

Translated from the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*
Munich Conservative Daily

BEYOND the Latin world the name of Donoso Cortés is but little known. When Bismarck mentioned him in his reminiscences in 1900, Germany was enjoying a state of security that made it impossible to believe in the horoscope this gloomy prophet had cast for Europe, however much one might admire his brilliant intellect, firm Catholicism, and keen political sense. Since then, however, as we all know, waves of adversity have broken over us and more are yet to come, so that we cannot laugh at the apocalyptic utterances of this Spaniard as some of his contemporaries did. Here and there his name is still known in Germany. A few of his writings have been translated, including the powerful speech he made in Madrid in 1850 that aroused the admiration of Ranke and Schelling but that achieved no real result. Nor could it have been expected to produce much effect, for the hope of all radicals, whether of the left or the right, is to destroy precisely those foundations on which Donoso built. Nevertheless, a curious latter-day development—the sudden invasion of theology into political discussion, though in a directly anti-religious sense—makes it appropriate for us to recall this forgotten prophet.

Donoso Cortés, Marquis de Valdegamas, was a descendant of the conqueror of Mexico. During his short life, from 1809 to 1853, he achieved a brilliant career as diplomat, politician, and publicist. At the age of eleven he had completed all his

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humanistic studies. At twenty he was professor of literature in the College of Cáceres. He lived, as he later described it, in a state of 'literary fanaticism,' fanaticism in respect to form and style. He described himself as a skeptic who had broken loose from divine and human authority. After the death of his young wife he gave up his successful teaching career, went to Madrid, and found that he could not keep out of the struggle over the Constitution. After supporting the limited monarchy in a sensational article written in 1832 he was made royal commissioner of the independent provinces of Badajoz and Cáceres, where he developed skill as a practical politician. Later he was made a section chief in the Ministry of Justice, and it was then that he began his great career as publicist, establishing, directing, and contributing to many Madrid newspapers and making speeches on popular rights. He still believed in the victory of reason as it had been defined by the French enlightenment, but during the Carlist War, in 1839, he broke completely with the philosophy and social policy of the Revolution.

When Queen Maria Christina was forced to abdicate in 1841 Donoso accompanied her as private secretary to Paris, where his conversion to the Church of Rome was completed. His return to Madrid in 1843 marked the beginning of his brief but brilliant career in the political life of Spain. He was elected to the Cortes. The Queen gave him a position in the cabinet and he was made a member of the Academy of History. From February 1849 until early in 1851 he was ambassador to Berlin. He analyzed German and European politics and revealed amazing prophetic gifts. His *Political Letters on the Situation in Prussia in 1849* bear witness to his skill, as do the first letters he exchanged with his friend, Athanasius Count von Raczynski, who was Prussian ambassador in Madrid from 1848 to 1852. Early in 1851 Donoso became ambassador to the French Republic and wrote his most important work, *An Essay on Catholicism, Liberalism, and Socialism*, which was published in Madrid and Paris in 1851. No one could deny the lofty character of this solitary prophet, who gave four-fifths of his income to the poor, but his theological attacks, although written from the Roman Catholic point of view, disturbed Rome itself because of their doubtful dogmatism. Donoso did not live to see himself completely justified but died of a heart attack on the third of May, 1853, before reaching the age of forty-four.

DONOSO'S intellectual world is that of Roman Catholicism. Its special virtue, apart from his own personal qualities, is that it sums up the political theology of the counter-revolutionary school founded by Joseph de Maistre in France. Donoso is also important for his passionate opposition to the atheistic basis of socialism. In one of his later letters he coined this formula: 'Nothing is possible in the world but Catholicism, the sovereign affirmation, or revolution, the absolute denial. You perform an immeasurable service when you prove that religious truth is identical with political and social truth, because it is full and complete truth.' This assertion of mutual interdependence would not surprise anybody nowadays,

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and the beginning of Donoso's *Essay* seems most timely.

'It is surprising, Proudhon has said, that we are moving closer and closer to theology because of our politics. The really surprising thing is the amazement that is expressed in these words, for is n't theology the knowledge of God, the ocean that contains and embraces all wisdom, just as God embraces all things in Himself?' In spite of his keen eye for the influence of political and economic forces on the course of events, he believed that history was ultimately determined by human beliefs and ideas. In this connection he rejected any relative conclusion. He did not believe in the free activity of forces, in the right of open discussion, which relies on the dialectic movement of material things. He believed only in God on the one hand and in bad principles on the other, in truth and error, in yes and no. He saw on the one hand a relentless logic coördinating all heresies, since they are all based on the revolutionary assumption that there is nothing higher than mankind, nature, or reason—call it what you will. On the other hand, he believed that revolution is confronted by the Christian religion, whose legitimate form is the Roman Catholic Church, where all the civilized forces stand in holy union—authority, obedience, sacrifice, charity.

Because humanity has lost its will power, it has inevitably accepted a godless view of existence based on the idea of freedom of belief, and only gracious intervention from on high can prevent universal confusion, although the individual may attain his own salvation. The sickness of society is not fundamental because the means of salvation are always within grasp, but it exists in fact because people actually do not achieve salvation. This and nothing else has been called the fatalism of Donoso. After all, it is hardly surprising that he did not believe in a victory of the Church on earth. The Church was the sign and hope of what might be. He felt that there was no assurance that divine reality would triumph historically. He was convinced that the world would always live in a state of conflict and he did not anticipate a reign of peace in the future.

His gift for prophecy astonished his contemporaries. Many of his predictions were quickly fulfilled. Others, like his perception that Hegel would prove responsible for the urge toward radicalism, were ultimately confirmed. His prophecy that Germany would be united into a great empire under the leadership of Prussia and that France would suffer political defeat and lose Alsace-Lorraine came true within two decades of his death.

DONOSO was convinced of the accuracy of his prophecies with all the simplicity of his religious nature. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte made his *coup d'état* on the second of December, 1851. On October 11 of the same year, nearly two months before this event, Donoso had written to Raczynski: 'I believe that a *coup d'état* is coming and if it occurs it will have to be repeated everywhere to reëstablish order by force.' On the seventh of December he wrote to his friend: 'God's work is being fulfilled, as I foresaw when nobody shared my views. I said that there must be a parliamentary and bourgeois collapse as the result of all

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this confusion. A new epoch is beginning. [A year later the Second Empire came into being.] All my colleagues took the same view of the situation as everyone one—that is to say, a wrong one. I tried to correct their vision and now they admit that I am right. My method of judging things is very simple. I raise my eyes to God and in Him I see what I would search for in vain among contemporary happenings if I merely looked at them in themselves. This method is infallible and, more than that, it is within the reach of everybody.'

Prophets who are sensitive chiefly to the approach of disaster do not advertise their gift, which rests heavily on their souls. It was therefore in a mood of depression, but with an undertone of satisfaction, that Donoso wrote from Dresden on September 17, 1849: 'It disturbs me to have upset you with my unhappy prophecies and I am moved to anticipate your reproaches by reproaching myself and saying that I have always thought that I might be suffering from some moral disease that makes me see what is happening in the world in the darkest possible colors. You know that everything appears gloomy to a gloomy person. If this is so, then you must not attach too much importance to my gloomy prophecies. Yet I am forced to speak freely to you, for my friendship compels me to tell you what I feel.'

Donoso's virile freedom from the naïve illusion that history is a steady process of improvement gave him a keen vision of the bitter realities of existence. 'In so far as the future is concerned, it always seems to me charged with dark forebodings. The only thing to do is to know who will be alive, who of ourselves or of our children will witness the great catastrophe when it comes. A terrible fear seizes my heart when I observe how the almighty power of evil has flourished throughout history. When people say that truth finally triumphs, that good is stronger than evil, they are simply mouthing phrases and giving way to illusions. You cannot imagine what melancholy this thought arouses in me.'

It should be remembered that Donoso was anything but a psychopathic case. Fiery, restless, active, with an overflowing heart, he did not despise the world or its culture, nor did he always look at the dark side of things and allow himself to be disturbed by the ultimate disaster that he always saw. 'I do not fear socialism to-day. Its kingdom will come later,' he wrote from Paris in May 1851. 'If Valdegamas is a Jeremiah,' Guizot said, 'he is a good-natured Jeremiah,' though perhaps it would have been more accurate to describe him as a Christian one. For the assurance of his native intuition can best be understood if we remember the world of belief to which he kept referring as a thinker and statesman.

I HOPE this hasty sketch may have made him appear important enough to justify further evidences of his foresight in the light of our present situation. Lenin's famous statement that the decisive battle would be between Rome and Moscow was anticipated by this statesman, who was convinced that the ultimate struggle would be between Catholicism and socialism and who had reckoned on the Slavic race's

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attaining domination under Russian leadership. The doubts, laughter, and rage of many of his contemporaries were the answer to his Cassandralike utterances. But to-day the prophetic passages in his letters and speeches read like the handwriting on the wall.

His speech on the dictatorship made before the Madrid Chamber of Deputies on January 4, 1849, attracted attention far beyond the boundaries of Spain: 'We must not hesitate to utter terrible words if they contain the truth, and I am determined to tell the truth. Liberty is dead. It will rise up, gentlemen, neither on the third day nor in the third year, and perhaps not for three centuries. You shrink at the tyranny we are suffering, but you are shrinking at nothing at all. You will live to endure something far worse. And here, gentlemen, I beg you to preserve in your minds what I shall say to you. The events that I shall prophesy to you must occur in the more or less immediate future and cannot be far distant. The cause of all your errors, gentlemen,'—here the speaker turned toward the benches on the left,—'lies in the fact that you do not know the direction that civilization and the world have taken. You believe that civilization and the world are moving forward, whereas the world and civilization are actually striding backward. The world is moving swiftly toward a despotism more powerful and destructive than any that man has yet seen. That is what the world and civilization are headed for. To foretell such things I do not need to be a prophet. All I have to do is to observe humanity in its terrifying entirety from the only just point of view, the lofty Catholic view.

'Gentlemen, there are only two methods of procedure, one interior, the other exterior, religious activity and political activity. It is in the nature of things that a rise in the religious thermometer means a fall in the political thermometer and that a fall in the religious thermometer means a rise in the political thermometer, namely an increase in political pressure—tyranny. Freedom, real freedom, freedom of everybody and for everybody first made its appearance in the world with our Savior. Yes, even the Socialists grant this, and they call Jesus a divine man. They do more: they say that they are the heirs of Jesus. His heirs! Great God, men who in the course of three years have caused the greatest revolution that the world has ever witnessed!

'Now, only two possibilities exist. Either a religious revival will occur or it won't. If a religious revival occurs you will soon see how, as the religious thermometer rises the political thermometer will decline of its own accord without effort on the part of nations, governments, or peoples until the temperate day of popular freedom has dawned. But if a revival of religion does not occur, then, gentlemen, I say to you, the religious thermometer will sink and no one can tell where we shall end. I do not know, gentlemen, and I can only contemplate such an eventuality with terror. Consider the analogy I have given you, and ask yourselves the following question: If religious power needed no government when at its height, what kind of government will suffice when all religious power is exhausted? Will despotism itself be strong enough?

'Gentlemen, have I not put my finger on the wound? Yes, that is the one question for Spain, for humanity,

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for the whole world. The way is open for a gigantic, colossal, universal, measureless tyranny. Everything is ready. Look about you sharply. There are no hindrances, either moral or material. There are no material hindrances because steamships and railways have removed frontiers. Electricity and the telegraph have removed distances. And there are no moral hindrances because all our minds are divided and all patriotism is dead.

'Only one thing can ward off catastrophe. It will not be prevented by more freedom, more rights, or new constitutions. It will be avoided only if we all strive, each one with all his strength, for a religious revival. Now, gentlemen, is this revival possible? Yes. But is it likely? I answer with profound despair that I do not think it likely. I have seen and known many individuals who returned to the faith after they had lost it, but unfortunately I have never known of a nation that returned to the faith after losing it.'

THE great cataclysm that Donoso believed inevitable was universal barbarism. He saw its forerunners in anarchistic discussions in which nothing remained firm or certain any more. 'Periods of argument are periods of sophistry, and the period of the sophist is the period of the great decline. Barbarians always follow sophists, being sent by God to cleave the chains of argument with their swords.' The limitless pursuit of discussion increases universal doubt, which is even more dangerous than ignorance. 'Europe needs only to continue writing and it will arrive at a condition characteristic of barbarism, that is, at a condition in which the masses are educated to read books and documents to such an extent that they cannot perceive the truth and merely find it easier to fall into error.' But a naïve barbarism full of creative power is superior to a declining civilization. 'It is said that we are approaching barbarism. Would to God we were, for barbarism has one advantage over civilization. It is fruitful, and civilization is sterile. Civilization has created nothing, but barbarism has created all civilization. No, we have not got the dreary consolation that we are approaching barbarism. Where would the barbarians come from? Is not this too good a name for such relentless characters as Catiline, who swore to sacrifice the defeated god of Rome to the god of his orgies?'

Donoso was convinced of the universal triumph of the revolution. Although anticipating formidable catastrophe, he said that truth is always satisfying, even when it is depressing. He deduced his wisdom simply and quietly from the general attitude of his own century, which was on the point of carrying out the ideas of the three preceding centuries, from Luther to Spinoza and from Voltaire and Rousseau to Kant and Hegel. In the Madrid Chamber of Deputies on the fourth of January, 1849, he made this prophecy:—

'Your orators will not save you, your arts will be of no help to you, your armies will hasten your destruction, even despotism will betray your high hopes. You will find no despot. You will accomplish your own ruin and will be trampled under foot by the masses if you do not bow down to the cross.'

In every decision affecting foreign

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policy, Donoso counted on a revolutionary Slavic hegemony to bring about the great upheaval. He referred to this in his great speech concerning the situation of Europe as a whole that aroused such admiration from Ranke and Schelling in Germany. He believed that England, thanks to its conservative character, would be able to save European society to a certain extent and for a certain length of time, but it would have to be an England that did not exist in his day, for England did not then possess enough spiritual power to destroy the deadly slogans of revolution. It would have to be a Catholic England, because only Catholicism is a complete contrast to revolutionary socialism.

'A revolution will be more likely to break out in Saint Petersburg than in London. Then Russia will be able to police Europe with a gun on her shoulder. Then the greatest day of judgment will occur that history has ever witnessed. This terrible judgment will chiefly affect England. Against the Russian colossus that can reach Europe with one hand and India with the other England's fleet will be of no use. The tremendous British empire will fall to pieces and the crash of its fall and its prolonged cry of agony will ring from pole to pole.'

Donoso did not prophesy that this victory of Russia would last any great length of time. 'Don't believe, gentlemen, that the catastrophes will then come to an end, for the Slavic race does not bear the same relationship to Western nations that the Germanic race bore to the Latin peoples. No, the Slavic race has not been in contact with civilization long enough. It is only half civilized. Moreover, once Russia overwhelms Europe and plants its feet in the midst of Europe, its veins will be poisoned by the same disease that brought Europe to death and destruction. I do not know what universal remedy God has prepared for this universal evil.'

Donoso's prophecies will be read earnestly to-day. Their lack of light and hope is a lack that existed when the prophet looked about him, and, like the prophets of old, the darker it was the better he liked it. But those who need some other consolation than the light that glows from the faith of this fervent Spaniard should remember that he was a natural stoic. In May 1849 he wrote as follows from Berlin: 'My conversion to correct principles I owe primarily to divine grace, and, secondarily, to my profound study of revolutions. Revolutions are the lighthouses of providence and history. Concerning those who have had the good or ill fortune to live and die in peaceful, quiet times, it can be said that they went through life and unto death without ever having left the cradle. Only those like ourselves, who have lived in the midst of storms, are able to say of themselves that they are men.' For Donoso was convinced that periods of catastrophe are periods of real security. They give us a chance to learn what is the purpose of life. It is up to our own period to give the lie to the Marquis de Valdegamas's prophecy that Europe will be powerless to take conservative, united action against revolutionary atheism.

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BOOKS ABROAD

CAUSES OF WAR. *By Sir Arthur Salter, Sir J. Arthur Thomson, Wickham Steed, and Others. London: Macmillan Company. 1932. 7s. 6d.*

(Harold Cox in the *Sunday Times*, London)

AT A moment when the nations of the world are discussing at Geneva the possibilities of disarmament, it is interesting to come across a book that sets out to examine scientifically the 'Causes of War.' A little book bearing this title has recently been produced by several prominent persons, including Sir Arthur Salter, Sir J. Arthur Thomson, and Mr. Wickham Steed. In 1928 there was a conference in Geneva for the establishment of international peace through religion, and commissions were formed to arouse the public mind to the need for peace. This book is part of the resulting propaganda. The writers, dealing each with his own subject, produce a collective picture of the causes of war. If these causes can be sanely dealt with, we shall be brought nearer to permanent peace than any mere agreements for a reduction of armaments can bring us.

The movement is therefore essentially practical. That it should have a religious origin is peculiarly interesting, for in past generations religion was one of the most frequent causes of war, and these religious wars were marked by the fiercest cruelty. Throughout large parts of France visitors can find records of how Protestants and Catholics in previous generations burned one another to death. Mr. Henry Atkinson puts the matter in a nutshell. Rival religious bodies, he says, found it easier to accept the universal fatherhood of God as an article of faith than to recognize the brotherhood of man. Even to-day, as can be seen in India, religious differences breed bitter hatreds that result at frequent intervals in fierce fighting.

In most other parts of the world religion to-day is a less important factor in promoting warlike animosities than it used to be, but racial animosities seem to be becoming more intense. This, indeed, is one of the ugliest problems now before the world, and it is closely connected with the development of democracy. In the days when hereditary sovereigns possessed autocratic powers racial quarrels were comparatively rare. Persons of different race living under one sovereignty accepted obedience to the common sovereign as a common obligation. Under democracy each race, or each fragment of a race, becomes aggressively self-conscious and claims independence for itself. We can see this to-day, even in the limited area of Great Britain. Of late years there has been a growing movement for home rule both in Wales and in parts of Scotland. Happily there are no signs of the movement's taking a violent form, but in Ireland a combination of racial and religious hatreds has long been the cause of frequent outbreaks of savage fighting.

The racial problem becomes specially emphasized when it is mixed up with the question of color. This is one of the difficulties from which South

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Africa is suffering, perhaps more than any other part of the British Empire. For many years past the white settlers in most parts of South Africa have refused to give equal treatment to colored races, whether of negroid or Asiatic origin. The case of Natal is peculiarly interesting historically. The Constitution granted to Natal by the government of Great Britain about the middle of last century specially provided that there should be equal treatment for all races. But, having obtained self-government, the little group of white settlers in Natal refused to observe this clause in their constitution, and imposed very unfair restrictions on the liberties of immigrants from British India.

Mr. Gandhi was at that time a lawyer practising in Natal. Resenting these restrictions, he came to England and tried to persuade the home government to intervene. The then Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, refused to take any action. Gandhi shortly afterward abandoned Natal, returned to India, and in due course became the leader of the fierce anti-English movement that has now for several years been raging in India.

A potential source of future trouble arising out of the color question is the action of the Australian Government in excluding colored settlers, not only from the regions where white men can live and flourish, but from Northern Australia, which is virtually uninhabitable by whites. Within easy reach of this tropical region are colored races rapidly increasing in numbers, who would probably make very decent settlers in a vast area that is now practically without inhabitants. In the interests of the future peace of the world, it is to be hoped that the color bar will prove to be a passing prejudice. It is not universal even now. In Jamaica a few years ago I noted that blacks and whites and persons of mixed origin all seemed to meet together on terms of social courtesy. In the French colonies the absence of color prejudice is one of the factors that has greatly contributed to the development of the French possessions of North Africa.

Religion and race and color do not, however, affect the issues that make war between European nations still a danger. These issues are admirably dealt with by Mr. Wickham Steed. He lays stress on the fact that trade rivalries, backed by tariffs, tend to develop nationalistic feeling, and thus to encourage the war spirit. The same point is emphasized by the well-known French writer, M. André Siegfried. Nations, he says, 'delude themselves with the idea that they can live alone.' A more intelligent attitude toward the problems of trade would bring us nearer to peace.

But the outstanding obstacle to a peaceful mentality throughout Europe is the fact that the Germans have not accepted their defeat in the Great War as final. They still deny that they were the authors of the War; they still believe that they can some time recover their previous dominating position. And that leaves the French unwilling to accept schemes for reducing armaments. On this question of the moral responsibility of Germany for the Great War Mr. Wickham Steed usefully quotes from a new book by a German professor, who has recently discovered German official documents showing that the excuses which the German Government put forward for starting the War were

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deliberately invented. The German professor adds that this discovery has left him 'full of shame and indignation.'

If other Germans could be persuaded to recognize the facts in the same honest spirit there would be a new hope for Europe. In the final resort peace between nations must depend on the spirit of honesty and fair play. Where this spirit exists causes of quarrel, such as frontier problems, can be adjusted on equitable lines. Rival nationalities will then begin to realize the fact that they have more to gain by developing friendly relationships with their neighbors than by cherishing futile animosities.

FRAUEN. AUS DEM TAGEBUCH EINER ÄRZTIN. *By Dr. Else Kienle. Berlin: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag. 1932.*

(Karin Michaelis in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Frankfurt)

I MUST admit that at first this book disappointed me. I had expected much of it, quite forgetting that it was not a literary work but a simple human document. But as I read on I gradually became so interested that I kept saying to myself, 'This is n't possible, this can't be possible. We must interfere here. We women must show ourselves united and strong in order to remove such dreadful things from the face of the earth.' The author is a lady doctor, Else Kienle. Everybody read about Dr. Kienle's trial on the charge of violating Paragraph 218 forbidding abortion. Frau Dr. Kienle was in jail so long that she had time to think things over. In this book she has recorded some of her experiences as a doctor, not all of them, to be sure, but enough to show that there are loopholes in the laws of most countries.

To avoid misunderstanding let me say at the outset that I am a firm and convinced opponent of abortion. In my opinion, every woman ought to bring as many healthy, lovely children into the world as her body and love can stand. It always seemed to me inhuman for a woman intentionally to kill her unborn child. Thirty years ago I first understood the fate of the poor unmarried woman who has to bring a child into the world without being able to care for it, while the man who might help her looks on uncomprehendingly and even passes judgment on her from the pinnacle of his own virtue. Neither the state nor the municipality nor those who are dear to her look out for the kind of woman who simply follows one of the most important commands given to humanity, 'Thou shalt multiply.' Because a woman obeys this command she is deserted by her man and banished from society like a leper in ancient times.

Obviously, it is better to prevent the conception of a child than to kill an unborn child. The question is whether, from the standpoint of a mother, it is more criminal to condemn an unborn child to death than to bring it into a life of misery and poverty. This question I do not dare to answer because I am not a mother. I only feel that if I had a child and could not give it a warm bed and food I should be capable of murder. Perhaps I should kill myself as well as the child.

Dr. Kienle describes in her book not only the poor, abandoned girl that wanders vainly about after doing away with the fruit of her body; she

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also describes the married woman who is ill from childbearing, who cannot produce life any more because she has none herself, the kind who is surrounded by hungry, sick children with bad inheritances. She describes women who work day and night, who have no rest, no friends, no home. Their children need sun, air, happiness, and we know that there are hundreds and thousands of them, uncared for and stunted, who have never learned to laugh or smile.

If there are any people who go around with blinders on and don't know what is happening, I simply refer them to page 230 in Dr. Kienle's book. In a German city with a population of less than twenty-five thousand, one doctor in the year 1927 had no less than 556 requests for abortions. He refused in 127 cases. He operated 426 times, and only 74 of those operations were performed on unmarried women. Unfortunately, this doctor has died, but he gave all his records to a well-known colleague in Berlin and this man, after removing the names and addresses, deposited the catalogue, with a complete description of each case, in the archives of his seminary.

It was amazing that many doctors did not stand up in the Kienle case and say that if she were guilty they were guilty, too. They should have said, 'I, too, found it more just to help women to the best of my professional ability than to let them fall into incompetent, criminal hands.' This cowardice on the part of the doctors disturbed me profoundly. If they had openly said what they know perfectly well Paragraph 218 would have been wiped off the books. For there are not enough prisons to hold all the so-called criminals, and we could not leave our sick untended until all the guilty doctors had served their time. Here the medical profession was wrong in observing its oath to keep silent, for every doctor needed only to say, 'I have helped women, too,' and then refused to give any further information.

It fills one with despair that the world should now be so out of joint. It is easy to say that the state should do this and that, but the state is just as poor and feeble as its citizens. Knowing this, we must make up our minds to deal with the most obvious outrages. Clearly we are not able to support as many people as might be born. Therefore it is up to us, even though our hearts bleed, to do what we can to decrease the number of births by every means in our power. We must do so because we should prefer to have a few people who are healthy and happy rather than many people, all of them wretched. Above all, we must stand by woman, on whom nature has laid the painful task of bringing people into the world. She wants to bear children who will be healthy and happy. If they are going to be hungry and wretched, then she will refuse to undergo the pain of childbearing. That is her right. I know of no book that sets forth this teaching as definitely and convincingly as Dr. Kienle's when she says that the present law is a real spiritual and physical martyrdom for women. A pregnant woman rightly regards her body as something inviolable. Within her rests and grows a living being, sleeping sweetly and silently, perhaps dreaming the most wonderful dreams. How can even the most callous woman fail to love this form of life that is part

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of her body and her soul? But there is something greater than love: fear. And fear is something that most of us know only in childhood, when we have to sleep alone in a dark room. Anyone who remembers this feeling knows that it is worse than pain. Fear is something so big that it overwhelms everything else. Therefore I urge that every woman who has been driven by fear to seek an abortion at the hands of a doctor or some conscienceless woman should be released at once. She is simply irresponsible. Fear is more powerful than everything else; it is even mightier than death.

The German language has a fine expression when it speaks of a pregnant woman as having 'a blessed body.' We must never permit this expression to become changed to 'an accursed body,' a danger which we know lies ahead of us. Dr. Kienle's book is a new cry of warning; we must give ear.

THE LIFE OF GEORGE ELIOT. *By Émilie and Georges Romieu. Translated from the French by Brian W. Downs. London: Jonathan Cape. 1932. 7s. 6d.*

(Anne Fremantle in the *New Statesman and Nation*, London)

MR. BROWNELL, writing of the Victorian prose masters as long ago as 1902, asked apropos of George Eliot, 'How long is it since George Eliot's name has been the subject of even a literary allusion? What has become of a vogue that even yesterday, it seems, was so great?' To-day, thirty years since that query, we are tempted to ask the same question. For although recently a good deal has been written about her—notably Miss Haldane's *George Eliot and Her Times* in 1927, and in 1928 Mr. Paterson's *George Eliot's Family Life and Letters*, she is hardly ever alluded to, and her books are read principally by uninterested school children upon whom they are imposed as holiday tasks.

Émilie and Georges Romieu have undertaken, not to estimate her real literary worth, not to publish new material regarding her life or her genius, but to make of her an interesting, vital, absorbing human being. Time was when contemporary criticism placed her beside Shakespeare, or alternatively ranged her on the same level as Scott, or Goethe, or Carlyle, or George Sand, and 'the greatest English novelist' was but one of her titles. Now her latest biographers would have us see her as 'above all, a woman.' For them she is the heroine rather than the authoress of *The Mill on the Floss*. And they succeed in making a tender, clinging, sensual, rather hearty and high-spirited creature, with 'luxuriant hair, a clear eye, a fresh cheek, and a swelling lip as appetizing as the ripe gooseberry' out of this 'quiet, anxious, sedentary, serious, invalidish lady, without animal spirits,' whom Henry James described. They make an Athene of Frederic Myer's Sibyl, and an extraordinarily fascinating woman as well. This is emphatically a *vie romancée*, not to say a *vie amoureuse* and, since we are at present generally engaged in excavating the Victorians, in uncovering, with no little malicious enjoyment, our grandparents' nakedness, this will doubtless be a very deservedly popular book. George Eliot's oft-broken heart will become another of the trophies of our curi-

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osity: we shall be able to lay it beside Ruskin's matrimonial infelicity, Lytton's infidelities, and Wordsworth's illegitimate child.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of the Victorians has been their mysteriousness: it is now eighty years since George Eliot died, and we do not yet know whether she was engaged in the Coventry days to a young man of whom her father disapproved, or no; whether she was in love with Herbert Spencer or he with her, whether Mrs. Chapman had any cause to take umbrage at Marian Evans' intimacy with her husband—or what the real Mrs. George Henry Lewes thought of it all. George Eliot has baffled us completely, and whether Émilie and Georges Romieu have called her bluff is not wholly certain. But they have certainly written a very entertaining book, which, in the original, published two years ago in Paris, is quite beautifully written. In English the little sighs, the half-ended sentences, the whimsical '. . .' are a trifle apt to become gasps and leers, although Mr. Downs has been most conscientiously colloquial in his translation. There are one or two fairly grave errors: Christiana Pearson is called a 'lady' in the technically social sense, which she never was; and it is claimed that 'George Eliot had a thorough knowledge of five languages. She knew more Greek and Latin than the most brilliant fellow of a Cambridge or Oxford College, even if a rowing Blue to boot.' Actually, alas, her classics were, although remarkable in one entirely self-taught, far below the standard required to obtain a fellowship at any college—although they might have proved useful in the winning of a Blue . . . stocking.

It is overdramatizing her very unsensational elopement to say 'she was spared no outrage. She had to run through the whole scale of indignities, affronts, and cowardly insults proffered her by those cowardly women who had found their path ready made before their face . . . it was a terrible ordeal.' What made her books the tragedies they are was not the treatment she suffered, but the lack of condign punishment she received. She was brought up to have an immense sense of duty, to believe that the wages of sin are paid C.O.D.; her whole philosophy was a spiritual accepting of absolutely inevitable consequences. So, when she deliberately, in her own conduct of life, 'broke all the pledges made and implied for her by her parentage' and found herself not miserable, broken, and punished but the reverse, she made of her books what her doll had once been—the sublimation of what her vision told her was retributive justice. The doll received the nails in her head the wicked aunts should have endured; Hetty Sorrel and Maggie Tulliver received what Marian Evans believed to be her due. Her remorse crucified her heroines: because she had attained her ideals, she denied Dorothea Casaubon; because she herself became rich, she punished Gwendolen Harleth for her ambitions. Each wrong she believed she herself had done she avenged in her novels; each right she had left undone she rewarded. And this close connection between her life and her characters is missed in this otherwise excellent *Life*, for Émilie and Georges Romieu consider that suffering 'made George Eliot's soul sublime,' whereas it only taught her sublimation. Hetty and Maggie were

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her sin-eaters, her scapegoats, nor were her novels past autobiography only.

Once upon a time an Englishman, a Frenchman, and a German each wrote a book about elephants. The Englishman produced one volume entitled *With a Rifle amongst the Elephants;* the German three tomes anent the *Psychologische und Biologische Reaction der Elephanten in Natürliches Umgebungen*, and the Frenchman wrote but 170 sparklingly witty pages on *L'Éléphant et ses amours*. The biographies of George Eliot by Leslie Stephen, J. W. Cross, and Émilie and Georges Romieu correspond roughly to the above three examples of national divergencies.

DAS WUNDERBARE ODER DIE VERZAUBERTEN. *By Rudolf Olden. Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag. 1932.*

(André Levinson in *Je Suis Partout*, Paris)

"IT IS always faith and faith only that performs such miracles. Whether it is based on truth or falsehood, its effects are equally prodigious provided it is intense enough itself." This conclusion, the fruit of the varied experience of Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, the legendary Renaissance doctor, a humanistic and magical Faustian, forms the epigraph of an edifying collection of studies, reports, and investigations gathered together by Rudolf Olden, the well-known biographer of Stresemann, and entitled *The Wonderful or the Enchanted.* It is a collection of essays by various authors who examine the rebirth of superstition in the world in general and in modern Germany in particular. They relate the histories of some dozen contemporary thaumaturges, miraculous healers, Messiahs, alchemists, prophets, and chimerical inventors who for some years have excited the masses and even fascinated the elect. Herr Olden attributes this reign of illusion, this recoil of reason in the face of the supernatural, to the economic crisis.

There is a Latin saying that the world has always wanted to be deceived. Moreover, the misfortunes of our time have not engendered skepticism; rather have they increased the need and the faculty to believe that a thing is true because it is absurd. Despair is essentially credulous. The various authors of this encyclopædia of error do not make the simple-minded mistake of exposing these manifestations of sensibility, these bursts of enthusiasm as mere frauds, although they are not themselves taken in. In relating with lucid detachment the activities and gestures of certain contemporary masters, in telling us how their fortunes originated and how they rose and fell, the authors have not confined themselves to trying to stamp out what is infamous. More often they bear witness to the at least temporary effectiveness of the craziest cures, to the prodigious spread of the vaguest and flattest theories, and, occasionally, to the sincere convictions of the miracle workers themselves. It was this that led Herr Olden to quote the maxim of Paracelsus.

In his book on mental healers, that subtle and magnanimous Austrian psychologist, Stefan Zweig, used the career of Mary Baker Eddy to prove how the most abstruse or vapid doctrine can relieve limitless suffering by the action of pythiasm alone, that

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power of persuasion to which Léon Daudet devoted a chapter of his book, *The Stupid Nineteenth Century*. Herr Olden's work is not confined to investigating the rise of Krishnamurti, whose teaching reduces itself to literally nothing at all. He also analyzes the incalculable and duly attested effects of Hartwig mineral-spring water, a magic elixir to cure diabetes and twenty other diseases that consisted simply of ordinary water distributed by the good city of Berlin.

We visit the City of Peace established by the divine master, Weissenberg, a little man of seventy with a moustache who believes that he is the reincarnated Christ and who plunges thousands of the faithful into trances that remind one of Negro revival meetings. We see the healer, Zeileis, who made a sensation in a little town in Austria by performing miraculous cures with a magic wand and d'Arsonval currents. This Lourdes for laymen has been visited by millions of pilgrims.

The adventures of Tausend, an intelligent rascal who claimed he could manufacture gold, are even more instructive because society gave him millions of marks and he was patronized by the all too famous General Ludendorff. Simple, humble people are not the only ones who are mystified. Schapeller, the squire of Aurolzmünster, an acknowledged lunatic, the inventor of an enigmatic spatial energy that was supposed to overturn the world and make it subject to Germany, not only gained followers with his rambling jumble of scientific terms but was summoned by William II, the exile of Doorn in person, who gave him millions. It would be a delicate task to explain in a few words the theory and practice of the Karezza, a new transcendent method of nuptial love. A different tone, one of puzzled deference, is brought to bear on the case of Therese, the stigmatized Konnersreuth girl, for the chapter discussing this young Catholic peasant is written by a believer. The weekly vision of the Passion accompanied by a flow of blood from the places where Jesus was wounded and above all the fact that for five or six years she is supposed not to have taken any nourishment except the host served at communion are incontestable realities and articles of faith to Dr. Karpeles, who describes her case.

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AS OTHERS SEE US

Europe Blocks Disarmament

THE immediate reception that greeted Hoover's proposal in the French and British newspapers foreshadowed the complications that have since developed. The present British Cabinet eventually torpedoed the scheme as a matter of course and the comments in the Tory press prepared the public mind for the *coup de grâce* finally administered by Stanley Baldwin in the form of a naval programme similar to the one that the American delegation to Geneva refused in 1927. The *Morning Post* even went so far as to imply that acceptance of the Hoover plan would lead automatically to war:—

> We are a people who live by our sea trade and possessions in every part of the world; our island imports no less than 85 per cent of its bread, and a large proportion of its meat and other provisions. If the flow of its traffic and supplies were to be stopped, its inhabitants—or most of them—would infallibly starve. Such a consideration, which is known to our contemporaries, might suggest to them the need for a little thought, a grain or so of reserve, before falling on Mr. Hoover's neck.
>
> It is also notorious that, whereas in the still recent War we had 130 cruisers and found that force inadequate, by 1936 we shall have only 50 cruisers. At present we are scraping along with vessels some of which may be said to be completely worn out. Yet the President's proposals would stereotype our wholly inadequate force of light cruisers, which, by the way—if there is anything in the distinction—are better suited to defense than attack. We are all for cutting through the brush; but we should not like to see our cherished naval defenses sucked into Mr. Hoover's vacuum cleaner. It seems to us that the American proposals are in this like all the other proposals, that they suit the nation by which they are made better than the nations to which they are proposed. Thus, for example, Mr. Hoover limits the submarine to a displacement of 1,200 tons, which suggests an ocean-going vessel that might be called offensive, whereas Great Britain is willing to see submarines abolished altogether or limited to 250 tons if other nations insist upon them. Moreover, Mr. Hoover fixes no limit to the size of battleships, whereas Great Britain proposes that they should be substantially reduced, and Japan, as we are interested to see, suggests that capital ships might be abolished altogether.
>
> We do not desire to go too much into detail, although we might say that we should like to see an abolition of bombing from the air if we thought it could be made effective; but we cannot see the objection to tanks, which are designed to save the lives and reduce the numbers of our soldiers. We believe that the true reformation in these matters will come not through such material considerations but through a spiritual change, and the removal of all causes of quarrel. Until that comes we do not feel in the least inclined to scold France because she modestly insists upon retaining the forces that she thinks adequate to her defense. We notice that one of our most fierily pacific contemporaries is using the most bellicose language to our French neighbors because they do not, like it, 'thank heaven for Hoover.' We hope we shall not be asked to go to war in the cause of disarmament!

The Laborite *Daily Herald* took the other side, which was also championed

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in the House of Commons by George Lansbury, leader of the tiny Labor group in Parliament:—

The Hoover plan, it appears, would save the British taxpayer about £20,000,000 a year. Not only the British taxpayer, but the European taxpayer, the world taxpayer could do with a greater reduction. Mr. Lansbury spoke the mind of peace-lovers everywhere when he said that he was in favor of the very largest measure of disarmament that can be obtained.

Too few people realize how much of the British national income goes in payment for past, present, and future wars. Out of every £1 which the nation spent in the year 1931–32, omitting self-supporting services, 12*s.* 11*d.* went for war and 7*s.* 1*d.* for home needs. There is an unanswerable economic case for reduction well beyond the limits proposed by the President of the United States.

There are also, as he reminds the world, past pledges, including the Kellogg Pact. That pact renounces war as an instrument of national policy, and provides that the settlement of all disputes shall never be sought except by pacific means. Further, broad general cuts in armaments increase the power of defense by decreasing the power of attack.

This is a reply to the nations which tirelessly insist that they are piling up armaments with a view to defense and not attack. We do not claim that President Hoover's programme is ideal. It is not. But it provides a practical basis for discussion and action.

The French press is divided in the same way, the nationalist papers attacking Hoover and the Socialists giving their enthusiastic support to that renowned advocate of rugged individualism. *Le Temps*, semiofficial organ of the Foreign Office, tried to represent the proposals as an electoral manœuvre, although Senator Swanson and Norman H. Davis, who have been presenting the American case, are both Democrats:—

The initiative taken by the American delegation at Geneva in accordance with formal instructions from President Hoover produced a great sensation in political circles. People tried to pretend that it was a new event of practical importance and great moment, although it is clearly revealed when examined closely as being chiefly preoccupied with giving President Hoover and his party a better chance in the forthcoming election campaign, which is to be fought on purely American soil. It is likely that President Hoover thought it necessary on the eve of the campaign to affirm in high-sounding words the ideal of his Government, but this does not mean that if he fails to achieve his ideal he will refuse to aid in the attainment of partial and provisional results. Everything leads us to believe that the powers that be in Washington took the line they did in order to convince American public opinion that they will still cling to their absolute ideals in respect to disarmament, although international circumstances may compel them to accept a limited programme.

'Pertinax,' writing in the pro-Catholic *Echo de Paris*, makes these objections:—

President Hoover, while leaving the German army at its present level, says nothing about Germany's clandestine military and semimilitary organization. At the same time he is trying to weaken the French army, first qualitatively, by trying to abolish certain weapons which, as the technical experts have shown, are as essential to defensive as to offensive warfare; and then quantitatively, by trying to reduce our army by 20 or 25 per cent and by trying to establish Franco-Italian naval parity through the virtual abolition of submarines.

Léon Blum, leader of the Socialist

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Party, which has been tolerating the Herriot Cabinet, approved entirely:—

Mr. Hoover has drawn up for the Disarmament Conference a plan which is so simple, so bold, and so straightforward that it looks almost like an indictment of the Disarmament Conference. It demands a plain answer—yes or no. There must be no more hedging about the bush. Moreover, Mr. Hoover's programme meets adequately all the usual French criticisms. It openly proclaims the principle of the interdependence of armaments upon which France has always insisted.

As far as French public opinion as a whole is concerned, the chief objection to Hoover's scheme is not its substance—for the average Frenchman is much less keen on his army than the average Englishman is on his navy—but the abrupt manner in which it was presented.

Anglo-American Comparisons

PERCY S. BULLEN, New York correspondent of the London *Daily Telegraph*, has returned from his first visit to England in five years and reports that the mother country now has better prospects than her daughter:—

For the first time in two decades I return to New York from London absolutely convinced that the British people are reversing the tide of economic depression and within ten years will be the most prosperous nation in the world. Five weeks ago, when I left New York, business in the United States was at the lowest ebb. Crime everywhere was increasing; in countless districts a state of utter hopelessness and abject despair prevailed. Communist propaganda was virulently active, and most people were very dubious of the future.

In striking contrast with New York and America I found London and England calm, well poised, confident. There was little if any destitution, and national relief was provided for the necessitous. By comparison with the United States, I met a happy, care-free people, with a dogged British determination to face the music and win the fight. Taxation is unprecedentedly heavy from the American standpoint, but England to-day, compared with prevailing conditions in the United States, is a country overflowing with milk and honey.

There was, of course, plenty of criticism and complaining about hard times in England, but of whining I heard very little. Psychologically the difference between the two great branches of the English-speaking family was that of chalk and cheese. The British morale is inexpressibly superior.

The doctrine of isolation and detachment for the United States, the infallible recipe for prosperity, political, financial, and commercial, has been preached in America since the days of Washington. It required the tragedy of the World War and the aftermath of suffering to convince us that all countries are very interdependent, and that the woes of Europe would in due course be shared by the world generally. With the realization of this great truth, now dawning, America will be making her first great stride to regain the national prosperity she has temporarily lost. These reflections are fully shared by my two traveling companions, one an American of great business experience and the other a Canadian specialist in motor transport. Their agreement seems to me important, because we were together five years ago when last we visited England and made an unofficial survey of conditions.

The fact that Mr. Bullen describes himself in *Who's Who* as having 'written and translated a series of brochures for circulation in the United States

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dealing with the European War from the standpoint of England and the Allies' testifies to his knowledge of the weak points in American character.

Maxton on America

JAMES MAXTON, leader of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and an advocate of 'Socialism in Our Time,' believes that the United States may suddenly exhibit revolutionary tendencies. The wish, of course, is father to the thought, but here is what he says:—

For some time I have held the view that in the United States a speedier advance will be made to socialism than in many European countries where there is a strong socialist movement and widespread acceptance of socialist theory. This belief is founded on the recognition of several factors that distinguish the United States from most European and Asiatic countries. Its population has been gathered from the four corners of the globe in what is, from a historical point of view, a very short period of time. Its allegiance to the United States is of very recent and rapid growth, and its family traditions carry it back to lands other than the one it lives in. The United States has been a nation for only a short time in comparison with others, and its history is brief.

That history is practically synonymous with the rise of modern capitalism, which has taken place with great speed and to limits unequaled in other lands. It has been true to type. It has been capitalism naked and unashamed, unhampered by feudal or Mediæval tradition. American capitalism has displayed more than any other the great power of production that is made possible by the union of large-scale organization with scientific and technical knowledge. It has also displayed an important characteristic of capitalism in that wealth has tended to concentrate in the hands of the few, and that, even when workers for a period received high wages, according to European standards, these wages represented only a fraction of the wealth their labor produced.

America has followed more closely than any other country the Marxian prophecy of the development of capitalism, except in the one respect that there has not been a steadily increasing class consciousness among the workers generally, although there have been in different districts and in particular industries more bitter and more brutal class conflicts than we have experienced here. They have, however, been limited both in locality and in trade. Dating from the Chicago martyrs through Sacco and Vanzetti to Tom Mooney, working-class fighters have been treated with a severity and callousness that in recent times have had no parallel in this country, with the exception of the execution of James Connolly at the time of the Irish rising. But these instances of class brutality by the ruling class have not evoked any counter strokes from the American working class.

Yet admitting that working-class consciousness has been slow to manifest itself, economic conditions to-day are of a nature to foster its very rapid development. The cosmopolitan nature of the population and its freedom from a long historical tradition make the psychological conditions also favorable for a speedy upsurge of working-class feeling. In these circumstances one is perhaps not taking a too hopeful view if one considers the possibility that when American big business contemplates the setting up of a financial and business dictatorship it may be taking a decisive step toward social revolution.

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THE GUIDE POST
(*Continued*)

German Reichstag elections that are going on just as this issue of the magazine is arriving in the hands of our readers will return to power precisely the groups that Professor Eibl describes.

THE music of India sounds like less than nothing at all to most Western ears, but René Daumal has taken the pains to explain what it really signifies. Whereas European music is supposed to kill time and to make the listener forget the world he lives in by solving a difficult problem, the music of the East emphasizes the passage of time by frequent stretches of silence. Indian music is usually accompanied by a dancer who interprets the legends on which the music itself is based.

AYI TENDULKAR has divided his time between Europe and Asia, having returned a few months ago from his native India after passing a year there as correspondent for the *Berliner Tageblatt*. During his visit he made a pilrigmage to one of the holy places of Buddhism but found it almost deserted, since the Hindus no longer follow the teachings of their greatest prophet but devote themselves to Brahmanism, against which Buddha himself revolted.

WAR has brought to Japan an even more severe suicide epidemic than the depression brought to America. An English correspondent in Tokyo describes several actual cases which show that patriotism and fanaticism are virtually synonymous there. In spite of all the rumors that Japan is on the eve of social revolution, no country where such things happen can be ignored as a military power.

OUR opening brace of articles discusses the immediate war danger in Manchuria. G. Lowes Dickinson, author of *A Modern Symposium*, *The International Anarchy*, and *Plato and His Dialogues*, takes a wider view and warns the younger generation that they face two issues of transcendent importance—capitalism and war. As an old-fashioned liberal, Mr. Dickinson is a recent convert to anti-capitalism; but he has always preached pacifism, notably during the Great War.

THE name of Donoso Cortés, a Spanish statesman and publicist of the mid nineteenth century, has been rescued from oblivion by the fact that his prophecies, which attracted wide attention eighty years ago, are still being fulfilled. His uncompromising allegiance to the Church of Rome makes him just as much of an extremist in his own way as Lenin, and his writings have therefore been seized upon by the Conservative *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, which welcomes the opportunity to pay back Marxian critics in their own coin. But Donoso commands respect in his own right and his name has always been highly esteemed in Latin countries.

THE interview with General von Schleicher in our 'Persons and Personages' department calls for a word of explanation. Whether or not it is genuine,—and the German Foreign Office has disowned it,—some of the opinions it sets forth correspond precisely to the views of Chancellor von Papen. What they boil down to is this—that many conservative Germans, especially the Catholics, would welcome a military alliance with France. Marxian Socialism, whether of the Communist or Social Democratic brand, is anathema to the leading German nationalists, who would rather fight Bolsheviks than anybody else, if it is a question of war. And, if it is a question of peace, a Frenchman's money is as good as the next man's, especially if it can be invested in Germany or procured in exchange for German goods.

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WAR AND PEACE

IT IS high time that the European working class realized the simple and clear truth that the capitalists of all countries fight only for the 'right' to plunder the resources of the toiling people. I would call to memory that in the last great war thirty millions, the flower of all nations, were done to death or turned into cripples. I would call to mind also that at the present time there are thirty million unemployed—also a result of the World War. The capitalists are pressing on toward a new war. The workers can prevent them from doing so. They know how it can be done!—*Maxim Gorki, Russian novelist.*

With the Philippines turned loose to become the prey of the strongest, with the red menace in Russia, with civil war still casually going on in China, with Henry Pu-yi shivering in the executive chair of Manchuria, and with a quota of hungry men and women in every country in the world, it seems all too likely that some day in your lifetime our streets again may be filled with marching men.—*General J. G. Harbord, U. S. A., retired, addressing this year's graduating class at West Point.*

The principal danger, as I see it, would be the inundation of Europe by Bolshevism. The minute that Poland devotes her energies to fighting Germany, she at the same time exposes her eastern borders. The Soviets would not hesitate, I fear, to overrun Poland. From there the wave would spread westward. It should not be impossible by peaceful negotiation to come to terms with Poland in such a way that Poland retains a seaport, but that East Prussia again becomes physically reunited to Germany. The present state of affairs is untenable.—*Franz Seldte, chief commander of the German Steel Helmets.*

At a recent meeting *Reichsbanner* leaders found workers of all political beliefs united in opposition to any scheme that might in the end lead to war against Russia. Chancellor von Papen's scheme [for a military alliance with France] is based on the idea of alliance against Russia. Although we oppose Communism, we equally oppose war with Russia.—*Siegfried Aufhäuser, president of the German Office Workers' Federation.*

If I were still in the Kremlin, and if I were advised by telephone of the fact that Herr Hitler had assumed power in Berlin, I would, without a moment's hesitation, order the mobilization of all Russian forces.—*Leon Trotski.*

If the United States ever attempted to dominate the Asiatic continent and to prevent Japan from pacific and natural expansion in this part of the world, then, indeed, a grave situation would be created, for it is obvious that a nation with a population overcrowded to the breaking point cannot be shut up indefinitely in a narrow strip of land.—*Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, former Japanese Ambassador to the United States.*

The disturbance in North Manchuria, the Shanghai affair, and the many drives started and kept up by the Communists in different parts of China and Manchukuo are gages thrown at the feet of capitalist nations, especially Japan, which has served as a bulwark against the spread of Communism and as a guarantor of peace in the Far East.—*Intelligence Office of the Council Board of the Manchukuo Government.*

To-day, there stand revealed in all their cynical cruelty the plans of big industry and of the despicable high policy that let loose and conducted the World War and that has employed the victory of a group in order so to shape the European frontiers that new conflicts become from day to day more unavoidable and, beyond that, in order to stifle the enormous construction now going on in Soviet Russia.—*Henri Barbusse, French author.*

Any programme of peace is a deception and hypocrisy toward the people if it is not founded in the first place on an explanation showing to the masses the necessity for a revolution.—*'The Communist International,' official organ of the Komintern.*

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THE LIVING AGE

The World in Review

In This Number:

The Unpeaceful Pacific	*Wickham Steed*
J'Accuse la France	*E. H. Davenport*
To Victory and Freedom	*Adolf Hitler*
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Cover to Cover

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Let us show you what we mean. In January we printed a discussion of the plays of Noel Coward and an article by Francis Delaisi entitled 'Pound and Empire.' In February we printed 'Under Which King?' by Cyril Connelly, a comparison between Aldous Huxley and D. H. Lawrence, and in the same issue appeared 'British Secret-Service Secrets' by Xavier de Hauteclocque.

In these two cases — and again in this issue — we have maintained a direct connection between the cultural and the actual, between the background type of article and the article of immediate moment. It is no accident that a short story by Arthur Schnitzler and the last will and testament of Dr. Gustave Le Bon appear in the same number that contains Trotski's opinions of modern Germany and Hitler's New Year's appeal. We always interpret current events under the eye of eternity — in the light of the past that has made the present what it is.

The reader with imagination will feel this fundamental unity, even though it is difficult to define in black and white. The fact that the most frequent comment we get from our subscribers is that they read everything in every issue proves to us that our aims are understood.

THE LIVING AGE does not bulk as large as some magazines, but a slight change in our type page a few months ago has enabled us to add the equivalent of eight and a half pages to each issue — in other words, two short articles or one long one. In case you haven't yet discovered for yourself how much each issue now contains and how complete a picture it gives you of the world we live in, may we suggest that there is no time like the present for putting us to the test?

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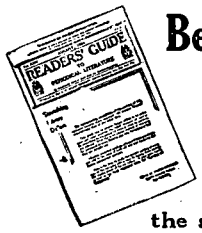

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